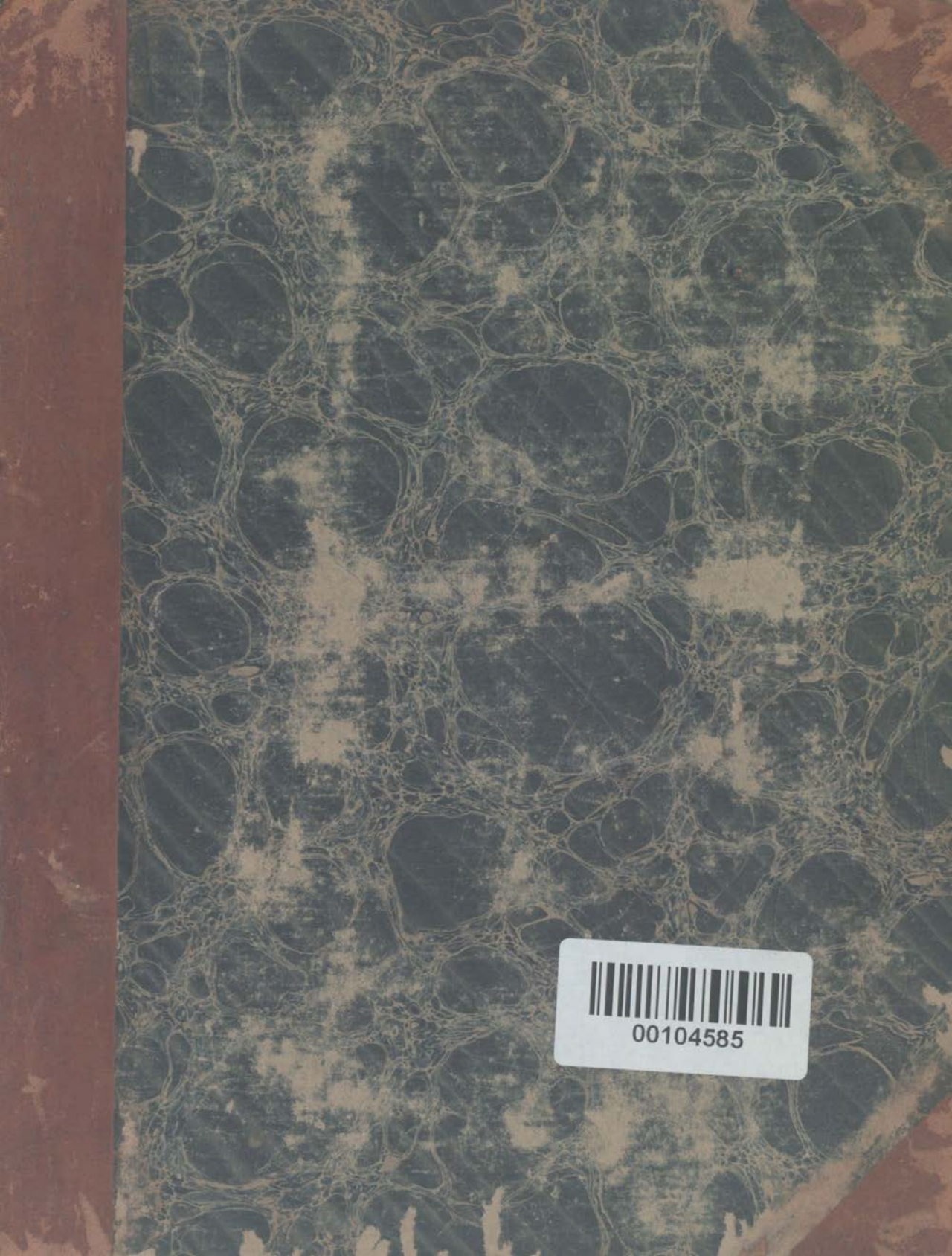
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An HISTORICAL

ACCOUNT

OF THE

BRITISH TRADE

OVER THE

CASPIAN SEA:

WITH A

JOURNAL of TRAVELS

FROM

LONDON through RUSSIA into PERSIA; and back through RUSSIA, GERMANY and HOLLAND.

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To which are added,

The revolutions of PERSIA during the present century, with the partic[illegible] history of the great usurper NADIR K[illegible]I.

Gg.d.

Sold by Mr. D[illegible]
VAILLANT, an[illegible]
Sr[illegible] and Mr.

00104585

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

The LADY

ELIZABETH GERMAIN.

MADAM,

I Can with great truth aſſure your LA[illegible]IP, that not without a mixture of wonder, tha[illegible] reflec[illegible] my publiſhing this journal of travels; to exp[illegible] luſtrate which, I have been conſtrained to enter[illegible] rical detail of our commerce over the c[illegible] any part of this work, ſhould be uſeful t[illegible]

merit is not mine, but belongs properly to your LADYSHIP, and to LORD and LADY VERE; in compliance with whoſe requeſt, the tranſient thoughts I had entertained on this ſubject, were carried into execution.

The firſt volume will ſhew, that I have not been contented with the bare office of an hiſtorian: I have ventured to give my thoughts on perſons and things; which, according to the different ſubjects of my reflexions, often conſtitute me a moraliſt, and ſometimes a politician. Upon the whole, this is a miſcellaneous work; in the proſecution of which, I am the more expoſed to fall into thoſe inaccuracies which may tempt ſome to criticize, who have not the candor to conſider, that I am an author by accident, and cannot be ſaid to offend againſt rules, with which I do not pretend to be acquainted.

What a man has ſeen, he ſeems to have a right to relate, if he conceives it to be of ſuch a nature as may turn to the public advantage: but the common failing of private men, eſteem incidents of their own life, if there be any in them out of the common road, of greater conſequence to the public than they really are. This opinion of ſignificancy will however be corrected by the judgement of the public, to which I readily ſubmit.

In

In performances of ſuch a nature as this, if either information or inſtruction reſults from them, it is of a more extenſive influence, than what ariſes from the peruſal of the actions or ſentiments of perſons in a more exalted ſphere of life; becauſe the number of thoſe who can be either informed or inſtructed by the memoirs of eminent ſtateſmen or great captains, bears but a ſmall proportion to the multitudes that may receive benefit from the obſervations of ſuch as have run through ſcenes, in which every common reader may poſſibly become an actor.

To inſpire the mind of a reader with the deſire of acting in a manner ſuitable to the relation in which we ſtand, to the great lord of nature, as well as to our fellow-creatures, appears to me the nobleſt object that an author can have in view. If by adhering to this principle, I have ſometimes given into religious, as well as moral reflexio[illegible] I hope it will not be thought, that I ſtand in need of a[illegible]boured excuſe. Some indulgence is certainly due to the [illegible]raiſe and conſtitutions of men's minds; and [illegible] through dangers and has experienced difficu[illegible] dually contract ſomewhat of this ſerious diſpo[illegible]tion, ſoever he might have entertained of it before; fore, thoſe who at the firſt peruſal may diſlik[illegible] in a future period of their lives, may diſcove[illegible]

timents merit a better reception. To be kindly received at firſt ſight is very agreeable; yet to be eſteemed upon reflexion is of the two, moſt to be deſired.

To temper that ſerioufneſs which reigns throughout this book, it is requiſite there ſhould be a mixture of other matter; for we ſeldom profit by writings that do not afford amuſement. Such a mixture there will be found; ſince my ſubject alſo leads me to treat of many great events, which for their ſingularity have the air of romance: ſome of theſe have hitherto eſcaped notice, and others have been very confuſedly and imperfectly repreſented. Variety is the moſt effectual method of pleaſing; for the human mind having very different faculties, is ſatisfied in proportion as a ſmaller or greater number of theſe are gratified.

There has been a general, and I doubt, too juſt a ſuſpicion, that in planning the ſtory of their own travels, authors have ſometimes ſought to heighten the agreeableneſs of their relations, by detracting from, or magnifying the truth. The [illegible] notice carried a little farther, has produced ingenious [illegible] ſuſceptible of greater ornaments; and which, though [illegible] not inform ſo much, have pleaſed more. I dare [illegible] my duty to aver, that there is nothing of that [illegible]: and therefore, how ſingular ſoever ſome paſſages

paſſages may appear, it will be only juſtice to believe them literally true, particularly with regard to what I relate from my own knowledge; and as to other facts, as I have been careful to avoid being impoſed upon myſelf, ſo I have endeavoured to avoid becoming the inſtrument of impoſing falſehood upon others.

It has been long a maxim with me, that a book ſhould be the true picture of the author's mind: ſuch with all its imperfections I am ſure is this. The folly of writing, if it be one, is a folly I ſhall never commit again; and having taken this reſolution, I have ſaid all that I have to communicate to the public.

Whatever the fate of my endeavours may be, I ſhall ſtill hope for the continuance of your LADYSHIP'S protection. If the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of gratitude; if the moſt profound veneration for the qualities you poſſeſs; and more eſpecially for that unwearied beneficence which is your peculiar characteriſtic, ought to merit your eſteem, I ſhall always preſerve a juſt title to it. In ſaying this I [illegible] myſelf without paying half the tribute that is due to your virtues, which are too great, and too numerous, to [illegible] from the world. I conclude this long addreſs with zealous wiſhes, that providence may prolong

your life, to be a bleſſing to the humble and poor, and a ſhining example to the great and happy. I am, with the moſt ſincere reſpect,

MADAM,

Your LADYSHIP'S

London,
January, 1753.

moſt obliged, and

moſt devoted

ſervant,

Jonas Hanway.

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PAge xii. line 18. for Thus, read This. p. 19. l. 30. one of, r. in one of. p. 24[illegible] ould have. p. 11[illegible] 20. me had, r. me he had. p 130. l. 1. dele been. p. 190. l. 29. intending, r. in e[illegible] p. 218. l. 4. d[illegible] p 236. l. 20. juin, r. join. p. 269. l. 26. ingeniouſneſs, r. ingenuouſneſs. p. 276. l. 11. [illegible] r. poin'ed. p[illegible] l. 15. rotund as, r. rotundas. p. 306. l. 1. well, r. as well. p. 311. l. 1. fighting, r. fighti[illegible] p[illegible] 5. l. 3. left. p. 324. l. 6. this, r. the. p. 380. l. 14. ZOZOASTER, r. ZOROASTER. p. 386. l. 20. not b[illegible], r. n[illegible] to be.

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Wale del. G. Scotin sculp

PART I.

THE AUTHOR's RETURN FROM PERSIA TO RUSSIA, WITH

An hiſtorical account of the CASPIAN trade, to the prohibition of it.

CHAP. I.

The author returns to RUSSIA *with a cargo of raw ſilk. A bar[illegible] up the* VOLGA *to* ASTRACHAN *with letters is plundere[illegible] and the crew murdered. The author performs quarantain, aud goes [illegible]* AS[illegible]CH[illegible]

I HAVE thus diſcharged the duty I impoſed on myſelf to giv[illegible] ſcription of the CASPIAN ſea and its ſhores, from modern an[illegible] thentic relations, corroborated by my own experience. Having alſo giv[illegible]

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a particular account of my own adventures and obſervations in PERSIA, I now prepare to leave that country.

On the 13th of September, 1744, I left RESHD, and arrived at PERRYBAZAR, intending to depart for ASTRACHAN. Here we embarked in a flat bottomed PERSIAN boat, to go down the canal formed by the inroads of the ſea: the reeds through which we paſſed ſent forth an ungrateful ſtench. The ſand bank on the bar of ENZELLEE is often ſhifted by the north winds, which uſually create a great ſurge, and render it difficult to get off the ſhore. In about five hours we reached the peninſula of ENZELLEE, where the RUSSIAN conſul BAKOONIN, and ſeveral merchants of that nation had taken up their lodgings in tents, for the convenience of the pure air, and for the eaſier communication with their ſhips. I viſited the conſul, and deſired, as there was no plague or epidemical diſtemper in GHILAN, that he would grant a bill of health for captain WOODROOFE's crew and paſſengers. Upon which he required me to ſend on ſhore two of our RUSSIAN ſeamen, who wanted to leave the ſhip, though we could not conveniently navigate her without them: as I knew that he had given countenance to theſe mutinous fellows, I deſired to be excuſed. He then demanded in very imperious terms, if I acknowledged him as her imperial majeſty's conſul. I anſwered in the affirmative, and that otherwiſe I ſhould not have applied to him for a bill of health. "As ſuch then, replied he, I demand the two RUSSIAN "ſubjects." Upon this occaſion he took the liberty to tell me with ſome warmth, that I oppoſed his meaſures, and had been continually intriguing ſince I came into PERSIA. What he meant I know not, nor do I believe he knew his own meaning; this I know, that he was too much an enemy of our trade to reliſh my endeavours to eſtabliſh it. If moderate preſ[illegible] and a decent deportment could have made him our friend, the facto[illegible]her in [illegible], or in St. PETERSBURG, were not wanting in this reſpect; but he ſeemed determined to oppoſe our intereſts. I con[illegible]myſelf with laughing in his face, in return for this vague and idle [illegible]on, but as he gave his word of honour, that the men ſhould re[illegible]n board according to their engagement to ſerve the ſhip, I conſent-

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ed to their coming aſhore: we parted in a civil manner, and upon his giving us a bill of health, I went on board.

Though the ſucceſs which we had at ASTRABAD, was no more than an effect of what has been always conſidered as one of the antient laws and cuſtoms of PERSIA; yet in the diſtreſſed ſtate of that country, had it not been for ELTON's connexions, and the SHAH's pride in appearing ſuperior to theſe rebellions, we might not have had ſuch good fortune. The whole ſum hitherto recovered, was faithfully inveſted in raw ſilk, which after ſo many perils, I had now the ſatisfaction to ſee ſafe on board; upon which we departed.

The 29th of September, after a paſſage of 13 days, we came to anchor at YERKIE: here we were viſited by the commander of the guardſhip, who informed us, that if we had any other goods on board but ſuch as were of the produce of GHILAN, and did not declare them, the law made it death to the offender, beſides burning the ſhip and cargo. Mr. BAKOONIN, the RUSSIAN conſul, had repreſented to the governor of ASTRACHAN, that there was a plague at CASHAN, from whence manufactured PERSIAN goods were wont to be brought into RUSSIA. The commander having required us to come on ſhore, we went to a ſmall uninhabited iſland, on the eaſt ſide of the entrance of the VOLGA. A fire being made, the ſurgeon and his attendants took the windward of us, and demanded to ſee our breaſts, as is uſual in ſuch caſes; and after he was ſatisfied that we had no infection, our letters were delivered to him, being firſt dipped in vinegar, and dried in the ſmoak. The next day the commander ſent for the captain and myſelf to come on ſhore on the ſame iſland, where we were a ſecond time interrogated if we had any CASHAN goods on board, and by virtue of an order he had received for that purpoſe, required of us to declare in writing in what places we had been ſince we left RUSSIA.

The 1ſt of October, we found the water fall from 12 to 9½ feet, ſo that we lay near the ground; but the danger was not great, becauſe the winds, which create a ſwell, raiſed the water alſo. On the 2d, the wind

blew ſo hard at ſouth weſt, that the RUSSIAN ſhip which departed from GHILAN in our company, having loſt her ſheet anchor, was driven on ſhore at CHETIRIE BOGORIE, and in no ſmall danger of being plundered by the KHALMUCKS. After we had waited here with impatience till the 11th of October, in very cold and diſagreeable weather, without any ſupplies of freſh proviſion; a ſignal was at length made by the guard-ſhip, for us to come on board. Here we had the mortification to learn, that we were ordered to perform a quarantain of ſix weeks on an uninhabited iſland, a little to the eaſtward; but it was impoſſible for us to execute this order, in all its parts, as there was not ſufficient water for our ſhip by two feet. However, the news which afflicted us moſt was, the loſs of all our letters, diſpatches, and paſſports, with the lives of twelve ſoldiers: for one of the EMPRESS's boats which was ſent up eleven days before, had been attacked on the way by the KHALMUCKS, and the whole crew murdered. Upon this two boats well armed were ſent up the river in ſearch of theſe barbarians who had committed this outrage. At length on the 16th, I received letters from the ENGLISH agent in ASTRACHAN, acquainting me that captain WOODROOFE's ſhip and crew were ordered to perform a quarantain of twelve weeks inſtead of ſix, and that neither the ſhip nor myſelf would be permitted to return to PERSIA in quarantain. The whole ſecret of the affair was, that her imperial majeſty's miniſters finding that Mr. ELTON was deeply engaged in projects, which they conſidered as detrimental to the RUSSIAN empire, had given orders to the governor of ASTRACHAN, not only to prevent any goods going to the conſignment of Mr. ELTON; which was naturally conſidered as a prelude to the total prohibition of the trade; but alſo to detain the two BRITISH ſhips as ſoon as they ſhould arrive. However, ſix weeks quarantain would anſwer the purpoſe as well as a longer time, and in the iſſue it was reduced to that period.

The governor of ASTRACHAN, apprehending that I might have ſomething to communicate to him, permitted me to come to the city, on condition of remaining a week longer in quarantain, detached from the crew, and without bringing with me the leaſt part of my cloaths or baggage. Having therefore given the neceſſary orders for landing the ſilk,

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the 20th I went up a little branch of the VOLGA, and landed on the iſland CARAZA, now appointed for quarantain, where we found ſeveral ware-houſes and habitations, with a command of thirty ſoldiers. Here lodgings were appointed for me in a houſe detached from the crew, and the other paſſengers. The RUSSIAN ſeamen were now become ſo mutinous, that the maſter was obliged to put them on ſhore.

My quarantain being expired, on the 26th the governor of ASTRACHAN ſent me his barge rowed by twelve granadiers, with ſome of his own cloaths, for I was required to ſtrip myſelf entirely naked in the open air; and paſs through the unpleaſant ceremony of having a large pail of warm water thrown upon me. Having gone through this diſcipline, I embarked for ASTRACHAN. The VOLGA about this place falls into a multiplicity of channels; and as the weather was hazy, it was with difficulty we found our way into the great ſtream. We were ſoon informed, that four boats of KHALMUCK robbers were in the river; ſo that ſelf-preſervation called on us to be on our guard. In the way we fell in with a command of ſoldiers ſearching the creeks for theſe barbarians. In the evening we got to the noted fiſhery of LAVRINTIE IWANNICH, where we reſted. Here I obſerved very large dogs, like ENGLISH maſtiffs, but not ſo fierce; alſo immenſe quantities of fiſh, which are prepared with ſalt, and laid up in large piles.

The 27th, we arrived ſafe in ASTRACHAN, where I received imformation of what had paſſed in LONDON and St. PETERSBURG, for ſeveral months before, in relation to ELTON and our unhappy CASPIAN trade. The next day I waited on the governor, whoſe behaviour was now very different from what it had been twelve months before. He was reſerved upon the article of our trade in general, though very inquiſitive concerning ELTON. I took notice to him, that I found myſelf in ſome diſgrace in RUSSIA, on account of my ſuppoſed connexion with ELTON; though, in reality, we were entirely ſeparated, his purſuits and mine being of a very different nature. It was plain from his diſcourſe, that he [illegible]nt this ſeparation was political only; but he was too polite to tell [illegible]ir expreſs terms. I did not appear before him with an empty hand,

his behaviour was hardly within the limits of civility. The reproach which I preſume he was under for indulging us, had now changed his conduct in ſuch a manner, as if it had been criminal to appear an advocate for our trade. This was the ſituation of our commerce on the CASPIAN ſide, whilſt the traders at home were at ſome loſs, to whom they ſhould now conſign a large quantity of woollen goods laid up in this place, eſpecially as the market in GHILAN was glutted.

I paſſed my hours very diſagreeably, being for the ſecond time ſince I left St. PETERSBURG, ſeparated from all my cloaths, ſervants, and conveniencies of life, and detained in a civil quarantain; for I was not permitted to depart for St. PETERSBURG, till the ſix weeks were expired. This place afforded no amuſement; nor had I any inclination to read, my thoughts being too much taken up, or rather perplexed with the unhappy ſituation of our commerce. During my abode in ASTRACHAN, I had a remarkable proof of the nature of military governments. None of the RUSSIAN merchants wear ſwords, except thoſe who are immediately employed by the crown, in ſome particular office; nor are they entitled to military rank. This diſtinction I experienced; for on the ſame ſpot on which I happened to be inſulted, when I wore no ſword, ſoon after this accident the miſtaken compliments of the military honours were beſtowed upon me by the guard, for no other reaſon than being armed with this weapon.

CHAP. II.

The author leaves ASTRACHAN, *and travels to* MOSCO, *where he viſits the* BRITISH *embaſſador.*

THE 22d of November, I obtained permiſſion to depart for St. PETERSBURG. The VOLGA was covered with floating ice, inſomuch that no boatmen would undertake to carry me to ZARITZEN; therefore I [illegible]d to travel by land on the weſtern banks of that river. As I [illegible]th me but two ſervants, I thought it neceſſary to join a caravan, the KHALMUCKS having lately committed ſeveral murders on that road.

Upon

Upon enquiry, I was informed that BOGDANOFF the ſecretary of the ſalt-office at ASTRACHAN, and ſeveral RUSSIAN merchants, under the convoy of five coſſacks, were then ready for departure. I embraced the opportunity of their company, and croſſed the VOLGA.

The 23d, we loſt our way for ſome hours, the deſert being full of hills, and in many places very ſandy. Towards the evening, the RUSSIANS pitched their TARTAR KABITKAS [a]; I preferred ſleeping in my waggon, where I was better ſheltered from the injuries of the weather. The next day we travelled about 30 werſts in a ſandy road, without ſeeing any object, but a wide extended plain. At night we procured a ſupply of wood and hay, from a fiſhery on the VOLGA; we alſo received the agreeable news, that a boat loaded with proviſions, which my fellow travellers had ordered to be ſent after them from ASTRACHAN, happily found a paſſage through the ice, and was come near our encampment. I obſerved here many human ſculls, as if the place had been a field of battle; for the KHALMUCKS always leave their dead uninterred. Upon examining ſeveral of theſe ſculls, I could not diſcover any ſutures, which I imagined were neceſſary for the functions of animal life [b]. In winter theſe wandering TARTARS fly from the rigors of the cold, to the ſouthern extremity of their wild dominions.

The 25th, the road continued ſandy, ſo that we could not travel above 30 werſts in a day. On the 26th, we arrived at the fortification called ENATAFFSKI KREPOST, 120 werſts from ASTRACHAN: here is a village in which two regiments of infantry, and one of dragoons were quartered. The fortification conſiſts of a deep ditch, ſecured with a breaſtwork, and well provided with artillery. Though this ſettlement had been made only the ſummer before, yet it was well ſupplied with the neceſſaries of life, and from its ſituation promiſed great improvement. It ſtands on an eminence, about half a werſt from the VOLGA, a ſmall branch of which runs into the valley juſt below it, and forms a peninſula; the adjacent country is well wooded, and the ſoil rich. Theſe ſettlements are

[a] Tents. [b] The learned in ſurgery report, that the ſutures in ſome particular perſons, are by age or accident obliterated; but they doubt if there is any race of men without ſutures.

great

great advantage to the RUSSIAN empire, for at the ſame time as they awe the TARTARS, and prevent their incurſions, they open a trade with them for ſheep and horſes; and in ſome places for richer commodities.

The 27th, we proceeded fifteen werſts to another KREPOST, where we took a ſupply of wood and water, intending to travel in the night. On the 28th, the weather grew more ſevere, and the ſnow made wheel carriages very laborious, particularly to the horſes in our TARTAR cart, which was loaded with tents and proviſions. The next day we met a large caravan going to ASTRACHAN, which informed us that five perſons were miſſing in ZARITZEN and CHERNOYARE, and as a bloody ſhirt had been found on the way, it was concluded they were murdered. Upon this we gave orders to our coſſacks, to keep a ſtricter watch than uſual. Some of the company who had been impatient to proceed forwards, and intended to leave us, now thought it improper to ſeparate from the caravan. The 30th, we arrived at CHERNOYARE, where I had ſtopped in coming down the VOLGA the year before. Near this place, the KHALMUCK prince, and his flying court, were uſed to reſide. Large poſts were ſet up at certain diſtances on the adjacent plains, on which they intended to hang out ſignals, in caſe of an incurſion of any great bodies of the TARTARS; by this means they might communicate the alarm from one fortification to another. Oppoſite to this place is a rich mine of rock ſalt, which contributes largely to the revenues of the empire. The VOLGA was now full of floating ice, which rendered the paſſage of it impracticable, and cut off the communication with ASTRACHAN.

On the 1ſt of December, our company divided, on which occaſion I preferred the party that intended to make the moſt diſpatch; this day we travelled 70 werſts. The 2d, we found a RUSSIAN waggon, and the harneſſes of ſeveral horſes belonging to the five perſons who had been [illegible]lly murdered. We travelled the ſame diſtance as yeſterday, and the following we arrived at ZARITZEN.

As the ſnow now rendered the roads impracticable for wheel carriages, I ſet my waggon on a ſledge. During my ſtay here, I dined with the

the ſecretary, who acted as ſub-governor of the place. He preſented his wife to the company, who ſaluted her according to cuſtom. She then offered a ſalver with ſmall ſilver cups [c] of brandy, which was repeated after dinner, but ſhe did not ſit with us at table. I was not more amazed at the profuſion of meats than at the badneſs of the cookery: The quantity of beer, quaſh [d], and bad wine which my companions ſwallowed, was alſo prodigious; but it was a feaſt of friendſhip, and the intent of it to reconcile the ASTRACHAN ſecretary and one of the principal merchants of that city who had quarrelled: Their healths being drunk, the maſter of the houſe obliged them to kiſs each other. They were then ſaluted by all the company in the ſame manner; and, to compleat the farce, they immediately reproached each other for paſt injuries.

On the 6th, I took my leave of my RUSSIAN friends, and departed from ZARITZEN, attended by two ſervants. We travelled 30 werſts to a village under the lines of communication from the VOLGA to the DON. The 7th, the cold weather increaſed ſo much, that the froſt ſeized very ſtrong wine which was under my feather bed. We travelled about 30 werſts to CASHALIENA, ſituated on the DON: The inhabitants here are a mixture of RUSSIANS and CIRCASSIANS; they are poor but bleſſed with liberty, having a HETMAN independent of the government of ZARITZEN. In four days more we had travelled only 220 werſts from CASHALIENA, and not without loſing our way ſeveral times, the ſnow being yet untrodden. It often happens, particularly on the YAEIK STEP, that paſſengers who do not provide a compaſs, loſe their way and periſh. The winds now blew hard and exceſſive cold, ſo that our carriers could not face it, but were more than once obliged to halt.

The 12th, we reached MICHAELOVE. This place is the grand mart of the COSSACK towns. They hold their fair in January, when the merchants of CASAN bring woollen and other manufactures, for which the COSSACKS exchange the furs of foxes, taken near the DON. The next day we travelled to NOVOCHOPERSKAJA, the RUSSIAN barrier [illegible]

[c] They call them CHARKA.

[d] A ſpecies of ſmall beer, being a ſecond preparation of it boiled up.

the river CHOPER, and from thence we proceeded 60 werſts. In the evening we ſtopt at BRUSANO, where the inhabitants informed us that a band of robbers had broken into two houſes the night before, and plundered them; they had moreover tortured the peaſants, by putting fire between their fingers to oblige them to deliver their money. Theſe robbers had taken the road to TAMBOVE, and were ſo cloſely purſued, that we found hams and other proviſions which they had dropped in their flight.

The 14th, we travelled 40 werſts, and arrived at a poſt hut on the deſert, where we met the KHALMUCK embaſſador, attended by ſeveral RUSSIAN officers returning from MOSCO, whither he and his retinue go yearly to eat wholſome food, and obtain the preſent of a coat. From thence we proceeded to KUSMINKA, and the 15th we reached the city of TAMBOVE, ſituated on the river SNA. The next day proceeding 80 werſts we arrived at KOSLOVE: this is a large city, but all the houſes are of wood, and make a very mean appearance. Here is a monaſtery where the monks maintain themſelves chiefly by their own labour, and are conſequently no great burthen to the ſociety. The 17th, we arrived at ORANIENBURG, a fort 60 werſts from KOSLOVE, built by the once famous prince MENZIKOFF, who had the grant of a certain duty on the merchandize which is carried this way: In this place ſtate priſoners are ſometimes confined.

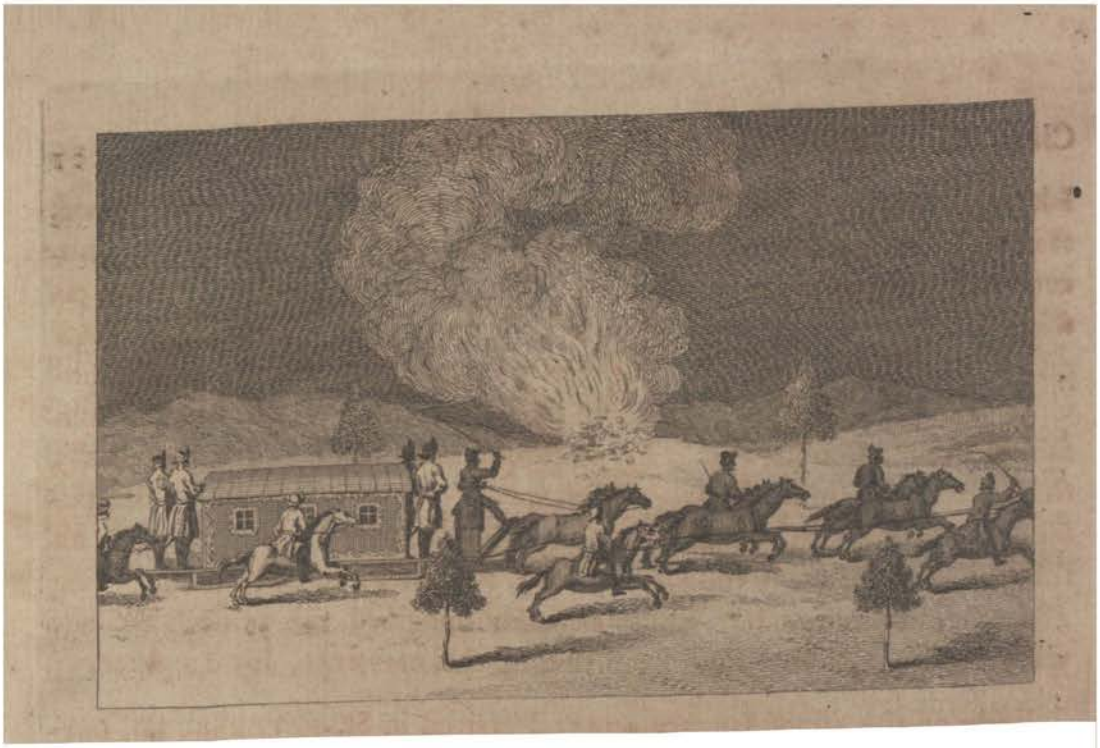
The 18th, we advanced 40 werſts, paſſing through many villages ſurrounded with arable lands, and well watered. The woods which the eye every way meets at certain diſtances, contribute much to beautify the proſpect; but this was no ſeaſon for rural pleaſures. The 20th, theſe two days we travelled about 150 werſts. Upon the road we had frequent opportunities of obſerving in what manner the peaſants render their houſes habitable in cold weather. As few of them have any chimneys, the ſmoak of their ſtoves is carried out through the windows; but [redacted]ethod leaves ſo thick a cloud, that 'tis impoſſible to breathe above [redacted] or three feet from the floor till the wood is burnt to aſhes; and conſequently thoſe who would not be ſuffocated muſt crawl in upon their hands. The 21ſt, we arrived at KHOLUMNA, an antient city, of which

I have

I have already made mention in my journey to PERSIA. This being the ſeaſon that the peaſants ſend their tributes to their lords, the roads were crowded with carts loaded with proviſions of every kind.

The 22d, we arrived in MOSCO, where I was very kindly received by Mr. JOHN TAMESZ. Here I received letters acquainting me with the death of a relation, by which I reaped certain pecuniary advantages, much exceeding any I could expect from my engagement in the CASPIAN affairs: providence was thus indulgent to me, as if it meant to reward me for the ſincerity of my endeavours.

Lord TYRAWLEY, the BRITISH embaſſador, was preparing to ſet out the next day for St. PETERSBURG, the court being already gone for that place ſome few days before. My lord had laboured to reconcile the RUSSIAN court to Mr. ELTON, his conduct having been repreſented as ſubſervient to the intereſt of the trade. The ſteady oppoſition of the court had however obliged the RUSSIA company to a ſubmiſſion, and the embaſſador referred the matter to Mr. WOLFF, who was at this time appointed his majeſty's conſul at St. PETERSBURG. I thought it my duty to wait on his lordſhip on this occaſion, but his hearing being at that time impaired by a cold, as was my voice with the ſame diſtemper; this conference, the only one I ever had with his lordſhip, was very ſhort.



CHAP. III.

The author leaves MOSCO *and arrives at St.* PETERSBURG. *The manner in which the* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA *travels. Moral reflexions on credulity and prejudices, in relation to the conduct of Mr.* ELTON.

THE kindneſs of Mr. TAMESZ, and my own indiſpoſition, engaged me to ſtay in MOSCO till the 28th of December. I had in the interim provided a light ſledge, being determined to travel poſt, to avoid the delays I had ſuffered in coming from ZARITZEN.

The great duke was now taken ill on the road with the ſmall pox, ſo that great part of the court remained at CATILLOWA, and the horſes being kept for their uſe, I was obliged to travel with the ſame cattle two or three ſtages together. Nothing can be accommodated more for eaſe and diſpatch than travelling in ſledges in froſty weather, when the ſnow is well trodden: As a proof of this, I may mention, that I ſlept without waking whilſt I was carried 100 werſts [e]. The whole road was now marked out with young fir-trees ſet in the ſnow on both ſides, at the diſtance of about 20 yards; the conſumption on theſe occaſions, at a moderate

[e] 66 ENGLISH miles.

derate computation, is 128,480 trees. There were alſo great piles of wood at certain diſtances, to be ſet on fire to give light to the EMPRESS and her court, if they paſſed by in the night. Her imperial majeſty is drawn on theſe occaſions in a large machine, which contains her bed, a table, and other conveniencies, where four perſons may take a repaſt. This machine is ſet on a ſledge, and drawn by 24 poſt horſes. If any of them fail on the road, others are ready to ſupply their place. She is generally three days and three nights on the way. There are ſeveral ſmall palaces on the road, where ſhe ſometimes ſtops to refreſh herſelf. PETER the GREAT once made the journey to St. PETERSBURG in 46 hours, being 488 ENGLISH miles; but it may be eaſily imagined this prince's carriage was of a very different kind from that of the EMPRESS, his daughter.

Early on the 1ſt of January 1745, I arrived in St. PETERSBURG, having performed the journey from MOSCO in about three days and a half. I had been abſent a year and 16 weeks, in which time I had travelled about 4000 ENGLISH miles by land, through a variety of adventures and accidents, not indeed the moſt perilous, yet ſuch as loudly called for a grateful acknowledgement of the goodneſs of providence.

I have already made ſome reflections [f] on Mr. ELTON's breach with me, at a time when I neither did, nor intended him any harm; on the contrary, that we might finiſh with him in an amicable manner, I offered him a ſum of 10,000 crowns, in lieu of ſeveral demands, which however appeared to me to have very little foundation in juſtice. The circumſtances I now was under, revived the remembrance of this incident. Tho' the quarrels of private perſons ſeldom deſerve a place in public relations, yet they ſometimes ſerve as leſſons of inſtruction, inaſmuch as we learn from them how men are tranſported by their reſentments, or how moderated by a love of juſtice and charity. What I have ſaid againſt Mr. ELTON, I hope my reader will impute to the love of juſtice, the deſire of ſelf-vindication, and my impartial regard to hiſtorical truth: though I muſt confeſs it is next to impoſſible for a man to anſwer for his

[f] Vol. I. chap. 49.

own heart, as to thoſe mixtures of malignity which ſeem to be inſeperable from human nature.

Mr. ELTON was jealous of the reports I might make concerning his engagement and other connexions: In order to invalidate theſe, in caſe I ſhould repreſent things in an unfavourable light for him, he ſtrove to prevent my obtaining in RUSSIA the juſtice he had arbitrarily withheld from me in PERSIA. I had now the mortification in St. PETERSBURG to find ſeveral perſons, who, to uſe no harſher expreſſion, were become my opponents, becauſe they imagined it to be their intereſt. Few mens hearts are ſo corrupt as to offend in a caſe of this nature, with their eyes open, yet things always appear to ſome of the colour, in which the medium of their intereſt repreſents them.

Men who act upon principles of honour, and with a zeal for the intereſt they eſpouſe, very often flatter themſelves into a ſecurity founded in the conſciouſneſs of their own innocence: their confidence is thus apt to create a contempt of falſehood, however artfully diſguiſed under the appearance of truth; and they are from the very frame of their minds, expoſed to be wounded by the arts of malice; theſe being weapons they never uſe; and conſequently do not always learn how to guard againſt them. A plaintive ſtrain is alſo as ill calculated to charm the generality of men into a love of juſtice, as it is fruitleſs towards the advancement of our intereſt in the world. The goodneſs of men's characters in general, prevails but little, except with thoſe who love virtue themſelves; ſo that complaints not ſupported with evidence, nor enforced by authority, are ſeldom liſtened to. A great delicacy of ſentiment proves how we would live in a world which we frame to our fancies, rather than teaches how to conduct ourſelves in the buſy part of real life. It is alſo melancholy to conſider, how great a propenſity there is in moſt people, to liſten to injurious reports of others, and to demand the moſt indubitable proof of their innocence, whilſt they take the moſt trivial evidence of their guilt. And as to gratitude, which men of contemplative minds are apt to deify; though the goodneſs of the heart is more concerned in it than the ſtrength of the underſtanding, yet in many caſes theſe muſt go together:

ther: for when the mind is warped by prejudices, and wrong notices of things, gratitude ſeldom has its force; for the ſervice aſked, and the ſervice done, can have the ſame aſpect, only to minds rightly cultivated and informed. But there is perhaps much leſs ingratitude in the world than men complain of; for as we generally conſtitute ourſelves the judges of our own merit, it is more than probable we ſhall ſometimes over-rate it: the conſequence of which produces, I believe, more than half the reſentments in the world. Beſides, mankind are ſeldom ſatisfied with acting right, unleſs they meet applauſe; but this likewiſe is a conduct in a great meaſure repugnant to the true notion of virtue.

To apply this moral to my own ſtory; I acquitted my correſpondents, in ſome meaſure, for miſtaken apprehenſions, into which I might have been myſelf betrayed in their circumſtances. Our trade had a gloomy aſpect: it was not ſurpriſing that fears and jealouſy ſhould ariſe; for this is generally the caſe in ſuch a ſtate of things; and 'tis ſometimes hard to diſtinguiſh friends from foes: but they honourably referred the ſeveral matters in diſpute, which were at length happily determined in my favour, by impartial arbitrators. I obtained my own; and as to any other perſonal advantage, it conſiſted in exerciſing my mind in patience under trials, and increaſing my knowledge of the world.

CHAP. IV.

An account of the quantity and different ſorts of ſilk produced in the northern provinces of PERSIA. *Manner of ordering ſilk worms, and of buying ſilk in* GHILAN.

I WAS now happily arrived at St. PETERSBURG, where I reſided about five years. During this time my journal is of courſe diſcontinued: I ſhall therefore proceed in the hiſtorical account of the CASPIAN trade, till the period of its diſſolution; firſt making a few previous and neceſſary remarks.

There are doubleſs many accounts of raw ſilk, from its original appearance to the beautiful manufactures made of it, much ſuperior to [redacted] I am

I qualified to give; yet it will not, I think, be improper to mention this, among ſuch other particulars as occurred to my obſervation, during my ſhort abode in PERSIA. If we may judge from the duties paid in RESHD, the trade began to flouriſh on our arrival there; for in 1742 the cuſtoms amounted only to 20,000 crowns, but in 1743 they roſe to 50,000, and made about the ſame ſum in 1744. The annual produce of GHILAN in good times, I compute to be 30,000 batmans [g] of raw ſilk, of which about 6000 are conſumed in PERSIA, 4000 ſent to BABYLON, and the remainder over the CASPIAN ſea. SHIRVAN formerly produced a large quantity, but that province is now in a much worſe condition than GHILAN. This commodity is brought to market all the year round, in greater or ſmaller quantities, but chiefly in Auguſt and September. They have ſeveral kinds of it, the firſt is called SHERBAFF, or weavers ſilk, becauſe the weavers, particularly in RESHD and CASHAN, are ſuppoſed to uſe the beſt they can procure; but what generally goes for the PERSIAN fabrics at CASHAN is the fineſt ſort, the threads of which are more ſplit; this is uſually all white, whereas the other is white and yellow; nor is it wound off ſo ſhort, ſo that though finer we do not eſteem it ſo much as SHERBAFF. There is alſo a ſort called ARABS, from being bought up for the moſt part by ARABIANS, who ſend it into TURKEY, where it is afterwards manufactured.

GHILAN produces the beſt and greateſt quantities of ſilk; next to this come SHIRVAN and ERIVAN, then MAZANDERAN and laſtly ASTRABAD; but the latter is vaſtly inferior, ſerving only for a manufacture mixed with cotton, of which they make their ſhirts and drawers. GHILAN ſilk is ſent into RUSSIA and TURKEY, and part of it is kept for the PERSIAN manufactures; but that of MAZANDERAN and ASTRABAD is ſeldom or ever exported. From SHIRVAN they formerly ſent all their ſilk to TURKEY and RUSSIA. The peaſants of GHILAN perceiving that the ENGLISH required the SHERBAFF to be ſhort wound, prepared it in that manner, and the ſilk proved good, and was much eſteemed by our manufacturers. The peaſants gave this reaſon for chuſing to have their

[g] 240,000 great pounds.

ſilk

ſilk long wound: in moiſt weather the ſilk wound on a large wheel is not ſo apt to ſtick or be gummed together, in thoſe parts where it lays on the bars, or diviſions of the wheel, where it is often rendered black, and ſo hard that it cannot without great difficulty be ſeparated, beſides, with a large wheel they make more diſpatch; but all this time they did not conſider the inconveniency of winding it off to be manufactured. Theſe peaſants are extremely tenacious with regard to the price of their ſilk: their buſineſs is uſually done by brokers, but the buyer attends to pay the money. They ſell it in ſmall quantities, ſo that a cargo cannot always be collected. Beſides this inconvenience, there is that of bad money, for they are often obliged to cut it through, in order to ſee that it is not copper ſilvered over. Their jealouſy ran ſo high, that the governor of GHILAN once publiſhed an order, that whoever refuſed any kind of money, except it was manifeſtly bad, his ears and noſe ſhould be cut off, and his eſtate confiſcated: but I never heard that this order was carried into execution.

The ſilk worm, as is well known, takes its birth from an egg no bigger than a ſmall pin's head. In the month of March, when the ſun is already very warm, I obſerved the peaſants in GHILAN prepare to give life to the eggs which they had preſerved during the winter, carrying them for the moſt part about them, in the warmeſt part of their bodies, and particularly under their arms. In ten or more days, according to the heat it receives, it becomes a maggot and begins to feed: the ſhrub mulberry-trees which are annually pruned, produce the moſt tender and proper leaves for their food. In about 40 days the worm arrives to its maturity, and winds itſelf by daily gradations into a pod of ſilk as big as a pigeon's egg. When this egg is compleately formed, which is uſually known by the ſilence of the worm within, they ſuffocate it by covering it with blankets, or by the heat of the ſun; unleſs they wind off the ſilk immediately, for then warm water anſwers the ſame purpoſe. Some of them however muſt be permitted to live and perforate the pod, for when it breaks from its encloſure it caſts its ſeed or eggs, by means of which the generation is preſerved. From the pods thus perforated the ſilk cannot

be wound off as from the others, but being prepared by pounding, it is ſpun off like cotton yarn. This ſilk we call KEDGE, the remains or refuſe of which is ſo inferior, as to admit only of being milled and made into ſilk wadding.

The cleanneſs and clearneſs of raw ſilk conſtitute a great part of its goodneſs; inferior ſilk has many knits and courſe ſtuff ſticking to the threads. The moſs, or head of ſilk, often appears fair to the eye, when much coarſeneſs is concealed under it; for it is a trick of the peaſants of GHILAN, to hide the defects as they wind it off from the pod. The beſt ſilk has conſtantly a gloſs or brightneſs: the white or ſilver-coloured is moſt eſteemed, but in GHILAN the greateſt part comes yellow from the worm. White ſilk that is ſoiled, is generally found to have lain in a moiſt place, which hurts its ſtrength as well as beauty. Silk ſhould be equal, ſtrong, and round as wire, and alſo clean; the greateſt part of it ſhould be in a medium with regard to fineneſs, for the fineneſt is not the eaſieſt to manufacture to advantage. The threads of ſilk being thus even, that is, as near as poſſible of one ſize, and not coarſe and fine intermixed, can be moſt eaſily ſeparated in the winding; but otherwiſe the coarſe is apt to tear the fine, and make waſte in manufacturing it. The ſize which we uſually moſt eſteem, is wound off 16 or 18 pods or cocoons. A moſs, which is about 60 inches in the round, can be moſt conveniently reeled off; longer is not approved of, and if ſhorter it is apt to break by the quick revolutions of the reel, being glued together with its own gum. It is alſo to be obſerved, that there is a vaſt difference between ſilk cleaned by combing, and that which remains juſt as it came from the pod. The former to an unſkilful perſon, who does not obſerve the broken threads and the ends of the combings, ſhall look better than the latter, though it be conſiderably worſe.

When the ARMENIANS and RUSSIANS pack up their ſilk, they generally comb the heads of the moſſes to deceive the buyer, but this makes it really worſe, becauſe it hurts it in the winding off. Theſe people, who were never famed for probity, have long practiſed the art of falſe package. Hence, at SMYRNA, and ALEPPO, where the ARMENIANS ſell their

ſilk

ſilk to the factors of our TURKEY company, as likewiſe in RUSSIA, it has often been rejected upon that account; eſpecially as they hold it a conſtant maxim, not to ſuffer their bales to be broken up except at the heads. The price of ſilk in GHILAN generally ariſes in proportion to the advance on foreign goods, except in a very great ſcarcity, as of late. During the courſe of the BRITISH CASPIAN trade, we found it vary from 12 to 18 crowns the batman [h]; it was generally about 15, but within theſe two or three laſt years, the RUSSIANS and ARMENIANS have paid from 30 to 40 crowns.

CHAP. V.

The kinds of EUROPEAN *goods which the* RUSSIANS *and* ARMENIANS *vend in the northern provinces of* PERSIA, *with a ſuccinct account of the* PERSIAN *weights, meaſures, and coins.*

I SHALL finiſh this ſhort view of the trade of PERSIA, by giving a general idea of the different kinds of EUROPEAN goods which the RUSSIANS and ARMENIANS now vend in the northern provinces of that kingdom, with an account of the coins, weights and meaſures, according to the beſt informations I could procure; but I muſt obſerve that there ſeems to be a great diſcordance among writers in this particular. The chief demand of EUROPEAN goods, next to DUTCH cloth, is for BRITISH woollens, ſuch as hair-liſt drabs of 12 to 19 l. per peice of 37 yards in white, which the PERSIANS call BEGREST: of theſe they uſually conſume nine bales in 30.

GLOUCESTER cloths of about 9 l. 10 s. to 11 l. 10 s. per piece, of 42 yards in white, which the PERSIANS call MAGHOOT, and conſume thereof 10 bales in 30.

Ordinary YORKSHIRE cloths of about 3 s. 6 d. per yard dyed, which the PERSIANS call LONDORA, and conſume thereof 11 bales in 30.

Five bales of ſhalloon of a middling quality, are ordinarily required in 100 bales of cloth.

[h] 4 l. 10 s. for 8 great pounds.

From HOLLAND they reckon one bale of MAGHOOT, one of ſhalloons, and one of long ells, to 10 bales of BEGREST.

ENGLISH emboſſed cloth is alſo demanded; likewiſe indigo, cochineal, and in good times, ſome rich ſilks, gold and ſilver lace, velvets, and other rich manufactures.

The PERSIANS had been long accuſtomed to DUTCH cloths, which were thicker, and for the moſt part better ſhorn, and of a ſofter and finer wool, the crimſon and ſcarlets of a finer dye; but they were dearer than ours. However after two or three years we improved ſome of our drabs, ſo as to be almoſt equal to the DUTCH cloths in ſubſtance, and, in my judgement, ſuperior in ſoftneſs and beauty.

The tranſit duty in RUSSIA is 3 per cent. on the value, with an agio of 150 per cent; which, with other petty charges, makes it about 8 per cent only in the cuſtom houſe. In PERSIA the duty on EUROPEAN goods is 5 per cent. on the value.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MONEY IN PERSIA.

The TOMAN, BISTIE, and DENAER are imaginary, but the other denominations are real; the valuation and currency of ſilver money are, viz.

	Value in denaers.	Weight in muſcals.
A toman is 10 hazardenaers.	10000	50
It muſt be obſerved that the hazardenaer (which the ENGLISH called mill denaer, and the RUSSIANS a ruble) is computed by EUROPEANS, and accounts kept in hundreds. - - - - -	100	
Conſequently the ſame in lower denominations, viz.		
Peng ſid denaer, or rupie, or nadirie - - - - -	50	2½
Siſid denaer, or ſhis ſhahie - - - - - -	30	1½
Abaſſie - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	20	1
Sid denaer, or mahmudie - - - - - - - - -	10	
Shahie, or ſahie - - - - - - - - - - -	5	

Biſtie

	Value in denaers.	Weight in muſcals.
Biſtie - - - - -	2	
Kazbekie - - - - -	½	

An ENGLISH crown melted down in RESHD, produced at 17 denaers[1] per muſcal, only 95 denaers; but we always computed the mildenaer or 100 denaers, equal to an ENGLISH crown of 5 s.

THE GOLD COINS CURRENT ARE

	Value.	Weight in muſcals and nackoot or karrats, 24 = 1 muſcal.	
Muhr aſhreffie, or treble ducat of 6 mildenaer.	6—00	2	9
Aſhreffi, or old ducat. - -	1—80	0	18 — equal in fineneſs to a HOLLANDS ducat.
D° ſhah nadir, or new ducat. -	1—80	0	18
D° of meſched - - -	1—80	0	18
D° bokhara current at 2 10 and	2—20	1	
Fonduckli, turkiſh ducat, about -	1—80	0	18
Venetian ducat	1—80	0	17¾
The common abaſſie ſhould be -	2—00	1	
D° ſhah ſultan huſſein - - -		1	4
D° ſhah ſuliman - - - - -		1	14
D° ſhah ſeffie - - - -		1	16

N. B. 80 $\frac{0116}{10000}$ muſcals = 1 ℔ troy.

WEIGHTS.

1200 muſcals, or 1 batman, are averdupois ℔ ordinarily computed 12 ½ ℔ ENGLISH.	12	20343	
98⅓ D° - - - - -	1		
1 D° I have found to be 3 dwts. ½ grain, but nicer calculators call it grains	71	1888	
1 dunk, or donk - -	11	8648	
1 karrat - - - - - - -	2	9662	
1 hæbbie - - - - - -	0	9887⅓	

107 muſcals are ℔ 1 HOLLANDS.

[1] The common price of ſilver.

The old batman, or manſhah, is 1200 muſcals, or 200 drams, by which ſilk, cochineal, indigo, kedge, &c. are weighed.

The new batman ſhah is 1280 muſcals, or 213 $\frac{1}{3}$ drams, by which heavy goods are weighed.

At TAVRIS the batman called tavrizie contains 640 muſcals, likewiſe chiefly uſed at MESCHED and HERAT, as it is alſo, more or leſs, through the whole country, for ſeveral ſpecies of goods. The antient batman of TAVRIS weighed 600 muſcals.

At ISFAHAN, at SHAMAKIE, and all through SHIRVAN the ſilk batman contains 48 ſtills, or 1600 muſcals, and 3 ſtills are called a ſhadah, and weigh 100 muſcals; but the batman by which indigo is weighed, contains only 800 muſcals.

At TÆHIRAN the batman is called re, and contains 1600 muſcals; rice, wheat, liquors, and proviſions are ſold by the batman.

A chærvar, or load of a camel, is 50 batmans.

A load of a mule 25 batmans, according to the king's computation, but carriers uſually load 30 to 34.

A chærvar of a horſe is 20 batmans, but carriers uſually load 25.

The ſame load of an aſs, according to the common rule of carriers, is 15 batmans.

Kæbbie, a handful.

Dizz, or gerib, 1000 rice.

4 batman of ſhahi rice make 1 kuttie.

Corn and grain, and even liquids are ſold by the batman, but rice when winnowed is ſold per meaſure, ojar.

The muſcal through all PERSIA is the ſame: the ſilverſmiths commonly make uſe of pieces of money inſtead of weights, eſpecially ſiſid demaers of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ muſcal in weight.

1 karrat is 3 hæbbie.

4 karrats, or nockoot, are 1 dunk.

6 dunk 1 muſcal.

6 muſcals 1 dram.

THE

THE MEASURE OF RESHD.

7 horſe hair breadths are 1 barley corn.
7 barley corns are 1 finger.
24 fingers are half a gæze, or gaz = 1 cubit.
4000 cubits are 1 mile.
3 miles are one farſang.

But the meaſure in common uſe is the gæze zerræ, divided into 16 parts, called gierrie.

The foreign and PERSIAN merchants in buying of woollens, compute the gæze at 40 inches ENGLISH, but it is only 39 ½.

1 D° is computed equal to 10 RUSSIAN archeens of 28 inches.

105 SMYRNA pikes are reckoned equal to 70 PERSIAN gæze.

The mokæſar gæze is $\frac{4}{16}$ leſs than the ſhah gæze, and by the mokæſar, PERSIAN manufactures, and moſt part of retail goods are meaſured.

The tavris gæze is 1 per cent. longer than the ſhah gæze.

CHAP. VI.

The ſtate of PERSIA *in* 1743 *to* 1745 *in reſpect to commerce, containing ſeveral remarks on the trade of that country, as carried on by the* FRENCH, DUTCH, RUSSIANS *and* ARMENIANS, *with a ſuccinct view of the revenues and military force of* PERSIA.

THE countenance which we had received in PERSIA gave us an earneſt of future ſucceſs in that country; but at the ſame time inflamed the jealouſy of the RUSSIAN merchants, who had never experienced ſuch favour. However dangerous the enterprize I had been engaged in was at ſetting out, the iſſue of it proved the moſt ſucceſsful during the whole courſe of the CASPIAN trade. It might indeed have coſt us dear; for had not 1500 of the SHAH's forces defeated the rebel army, which my reader will remember conſiſted of 3000 men, in all human probability the whole ſouthern coaſt of the CASPIAN ſea muſt have ſubmitted to their arms: thus the attempt of going to MESCHED by the rout of ASTRABAD, would have been a means of involving the whole BRITISH commerce in the [illegible] parts,

parts, in one common ruin, and of exhibiting that tragedy which was acted four years afterwards.

It was certainly a great miſtake in us to attempt a trade to MESCHED by this or any other rout. Mr. ELTON, as the reader will remember, conſidered the removal of our EAST INDIA company's ſervants from ISFAHAN, as a material circumſtance to encourage the factors of the RUSSIA company in the proſecution of this deſign; but in reality the very reaſons that moved the former to order their factors from thence, ſhould have confined the latter to RESHD, the place of our importation; and inſtead of ſeeking the PERSIAN merchants, we ſhould have left them to ſeek us. How much the PERSIAN traders reſented my attempt, may be judged by the declaration which HAHDGEE ABDULCRIM made to me at CASBIN, viz. "That if I had not been robbed at ASTRABAD it was highly improbable "I ſhould ever arrive ſafe in MESCHED." To this purpoſe we may remember that Mr. GRÆME was murdered in returning from that city the year before; but this indeed was imputed to his own indiſcretion in not waiting for a caravan. Mr. VAN MIEROP had better fortune, with regard to his perſon; but he was ſeveral times obliged to take to his arms.

The account which Mr. VAN MIEROP gave of the import and conſumption of MESCHED, extracted from the cuſtom-houſe regiſter of that city, made the quantities very inconſiderable; and the whole was ſent by ARMENIANS, RUSSIANS, and GREEKS, from RESHD, viz.

	Pieces of begreſt.	Pieces of londora.	Pieces of maghoot.
MESCHED and its neighbourhood.	305	100	700
For the conſumption of BOKHARA.	20	50	10
Orange.	15	30	5
Balkh.	15	15	5
Anthuy.	10	15	5

Beſides theſe, not diſtinguiſhed with regard to the place of their conſumption, were imported,

1000 ſhalloons. } the moſt part from KHERMAN, by the way of the
1500 long ells. } gulph of PERSIA.

250

250 batmans of lahori indigo, brought by the INDIANS, of whom there are a conſiderable number, who alſo trade in cloth from RESHD.

500 batmans of AMERICAN indigo from RESHD, by ARMENIANS; formerly it came from TURKEY, where they bought it of the FRENCH.

300 batmans of cochineal from RESHD, brought by ARMENIANS and others.

Though MESCHED was under the particular protection of NADIR SHAH, it was with difficulty that this gentleman ſold to the value of 22000 crowns during the ſpace of 27 months which he reſided there, and great part of this ſum was in exchange for PERSIAN manufactures, which no reaſon but the abſolute impoſſibility of obtaining money induced him to accept; ſuch was the diſtreſs of that country. For my own part I had the utmoſt reaſon to conſider this as a military trade, and myſelf as having made a compaign. The journey had however afforded me an opportunity of ſeeing PERSIA, and of enquiring into many circumſtances relating to the oriental commerce.

The confuſion ariſing from inteſtine broils, muſt ever give a deep wound to trade, the ſecurity of which is founded in the arts of peace and the execution of civil laws: but the government of PERSIA was now rendered precarious, to a degree that threatened the ſubverſion of that monarchy. The TURKS, the LESGEES, the INDIANS, the TURKUMANS, and other frontier nations, either favoured theſe inteſtine factions, or endeavoured to recover ſome limb which had been torn from them; ſo that every imaginable exceſs was committed upon no better principle than the power of doing it. In this ſituation it was the ill fortune of the RUSSIA company to find PERSIA governed by an uſurper, and a tyrant whoſe cruelty had no bounds: and the proſpect at this time in a more particular manner was overſhadowed with a dark cloud, which threatened a ſtorm. The RUSSIA company had already felt ſome of the difficulties in which they were involved; others they foreſaw, but knew not how to provide againſt them.

The rebellions in SHIRVAN in 1743, of SHIRASS, ASTRABAD, HAZARJERIB in 1744, were not ſuppreſſed but by the ſlaughter of many thou[illegible]

ſands, and the almoſt total ruin of thoſe provinces. It is true that NADIR had enriched his treaſures with the plunder of INDIA, yet the heavy taxes he had impoſed on his people to ſupport ſuch a continued ſeries of foreign and domeſtic wars, had reduced them to an extremity of poverty, and driving them to deſpair, obliged thouſands to ſeek a voluntary baniſhment.

I have already obſerved that NADIR's army had been ſupported for upwards of four years by the taxes drawn from his PERSIAN ſubjects, and that his INDIAN treaſure remained in a great meaſure untouched; this was one principal cauſe of their diſtreſs: by endeavouring to deprive them of the inſtruments of rebellion, he provoked them to rebel, and chaſtiſing them he compleated their ruin. Could any trade be carried on under theſe circumſtances?

It was computed that NADIR had near 200,000 men in pay, the charge of whom, officers included, was computed at 100 crowns [i] a year, and conſequently the expence of maintaining his army was 20 millions of crowns [k], excluſive of the contingent expence.

In good times the provinces are ſuppoſed to bring into the exchequer the following ſums:

	Mildenaers.	£.
The conquered provinces in INDIA were ſaid to produce in 1743, 25 crore [l], which makes PERSIAN money	12,500,000—	3,125,000
KANDAHAR and HÆRAT	1,000,000—	250,000
KHORASAN	2,000,000—	500,000
ASTRABAD	50,000—	12,500
MAZANDERAN	400,000—	100,000
GHILAN, of which a million was once demanded, but is now ſet at	500,000—	125,000
SHIRVAN, including GEORGIA and ſome parts of DAGESTAN	1,500,000—	375,000
Carry over	17,950,000—	4,487,500

[l] 25 l [k] 5 millions ſterling. [i] Crore or 10 laks are 500,000 crowns.

ERIVAN

	Mildenaçrs.	
Brought over	17,500,000—	4,487,500
ERIVAN and the parts of ARMENIA ſubject to PERSIA	2,000,000—	500,000
IRAK, including CASBIN, ISFAHAN, and the country extending to the gulph, being the antient PARTHIA.	1,500,000—	375,000
ADERBEITZAN, in which ARDEVIL and TAVRIS are included [m].	1,500,000—	375,000
	22,950,000—	5,737,500

The reader will naturally obſerve how great a part of the PERSIAN revenue was produced by NADIR's conqueſt in INDIA: it will alſo be obvious to him, that the charge of an army is certain, but the revenues to ſupport that army are uncertain, eſpecially if they commit the leaſt violence; and here the whole was a ſcene of rapine: the conſequence was, that except the conquered provinces in INDIA and thoſe of GHILAN and KHORASAN, the reſt of the kingdom was ſo impoveriſhed as to be diſabled from paying perhaps a quarter part of the uſual tax. Next to the above mentioned, KANDAHAR, HÆRAT and ERIVAN were ſaid to be the leaſt diſtreſſed, but miſery reigned in every quarter.

Of theſe 200,000 men, 60,000 were quartered in CABUL and the adjacent provinces on the weſtern ſide of the SIND [n], which had been conquered and kept by NADIR; and the revenues appear to have much exceeded the expence of ſupporting that part of the army. If one conſiders this number of troops and large revenue, it was not unreaſonable to expect a large demand for cloth and other EUROPEAN goods, but we were not then acquainted with the nature of cloathing a PERSIAN army; for indeed not a third part of it wears EUROPEAN cloth.

With regard to the quantity of goods imported by the PERSIANS over the CASPIAN ſea, whilſt the port of GAMBROON was open to the ſeveral

[m] ADERBEITZAN is the antient MEDIA. [n] Antient INDUS.

nations of EUROPE, the CASPIAN traders could but ill form an idea of the general conſumption in that kingdom. The RUSSIA company were the more ſanguine in their expectations, from a knowledge that in the beginning of this century, the factors of the EAST INDIA company had extended their trade as far as TAVRIS on the weſtern coaſt of the CASPIAN, where they ſold great quantities of the woollen manufactures of GREAT BRITAIN; but when the BRITISH factors in GHILAN, whoſe ſituation was now ſo much more advantageous, would have made an experiment of the like nature, they diſcovered that city and its confines to be in ſo ruinous a ſtate as blaſted their hopes of doing any buſineſs in thoſe quarters.

When PERSIA enjoyed repoſe, the agent of the EAST INDIA company of ENGLAND lived in ſplendor: the regal government being held in great veneration in that empire, he acted as immediately under the crown of ENGLAND, and from thence derived an influence which he could not otherwiſe have poſſeſſed: his pompous manner of living had ſome good effects, but the expence was too conſiderable to be long grateful to the company.

With regard to the advantages the RUSSIANS enjoyed, it muſt be obſerved that beſides the RUSSIAN miniſter who attends at the PERSIAN court, generally under the title of reſident, the conſul of that empire who is fixed in GHILAN is conſidered in ſome meaſure in a miniſterial light, and allowed a company of RUSSIAN ſoldiers as a guard, at the expence of the EMPRESS their ſovereign. Hence it was that Mr. ELTON recommended ſo ſtrongly that a commiſſion ſhould be given to one of the BRITISH ſubjects in GHILAN, by which I preſume he meant himſelf, to act as conſul; but the ſtate of things was now changed, and every ſtep that could be taken to eſtabliſh the intereſt of the RUSSIA company in PERSIA, in effect blocked up our paſſage through RUSSIA into PERSIA.

The advantages which the EAST INDIA company of ENGLAND enjoyed beyond the RUSSIA company, were ſuch as will hardly admit of a compariſon, nor indeed is it material to my preſent purpoſe: I ſhall paſs over

in

in ſilence the trade from GREAT BRITAIN to the gulph of PERSIA, as alſo that between PERSIA and INDIA; obſerving only that after the PORTUGUESE had ſettled themſelves in EAST INDIA they took the iſland of ORMU, and, being maſters of the ſea, carried on the trade between thoſe countries. That great prince SHAH ABASS thought it his intereſt to diſlodge them from his neighbourhood, for which purpoſe he entered into a treaty in 1622, with the agent of the EAST INDIA company, and by means of their ſhips he took ORMU and demoliſhed the town, bringing the commerce of that iſland to the continent. This induced that prince to build the town of BENDER ABASSI, now called GAMBROON, which is reputed the greateſt place of trade in all PERSIA. For theſe good ſervices ABASS made the company a grant of half the cuſtoms of the new town in perpetuity; but his ſucceſſors have not religiouſly obſerved the engagement.

The invaſion of the AFGHANS in 1722, ruined the company's ſettlement at ISFAHAN in no leſs a degree than the death of NADIR occaſioned the pillage of the RUSSIA company's factors in RESHD, as I ſhall have occaſion to relate. Their loſs, though very conſiderable, was not I believe ſuperior to that of the CASPIAN traders, except the long interruption of their trade: in both caſes extortion and plunder were carried to an extreme. The ARMENIANS ſuffered alſo °: the DUTCH likewiſe met the common fortune of the times, and being obliged to withdraw the greateſt part of their factory from ISFAHAN, they ſettled in GAMBROON, where they ſecured themſelves in a great meaſure by very ſtrong fortifications: they did not come into PERSIA till ten years after us, but as they are the only traders in ſpice, ſo much in uſe over all ASIA, they have been encouraged to continue their commerce, though with leſs advantage than in paſt times.

The FRENCH firſt appeared in PERSIA in 1665, and concluded a treaty with the SHAH of PERSIA in 1674, but the miſeries of that country in conſequence of the invaſion of the AFGHANS in 1722, compelled them alſo to retire from ISFAHAN. A very pompous propoſal was made by

° See hiſtory of revolutions in vol. III.

a FRENCH

a FRENCH projector, in relation to a trade over the CASPIAN in the beginning of this century, upon the occasion of an embassy [p] from SHAH SULTAN HUSSEIN to LEWIS XIV. This person imagined that caravans could not be conducted safely through RUSSIA, and therefore he proposed to carry merchandize in vessels by the lakes and rivers with which that country abounds; but in regard to robbers he seemed ignorant that this would not mend the matter in the least. He mentioned also several commodities which he proposed to return to FRANCE, particularly rhubarb; but this article, as I have already remarked, is monopolized by the RUSSIAN government: this scheme never was, and I believe never will be carried into execution.

But of all the nations who have endeavoured to establish a trade with the north of PERSIA, the RUSSIANS are the most advantageously situated: the intestine broils of that country have not put a stop to their commerce; on the contrary they have sometimes turned to their advantage; for besides the ordinary course of their trade to and from PERSIA, they reap considerable profit by their trading voyages on the CASPIAN sea, carrying rice from GHILAN to BAKU, DERBEND, and sometimes to the southern coast, as I have already mentioned. And as this export of provision sometimes creates a scarcity in GHILAN, it occasions a demand for RUSSIAN meal, from which again new benefits are derived. Besides cloth and other EUROPEAN goods, the RUSSIANS also export red leather, furs, and linen for the northern provinces of PERSIA, and make their returns in raw silk. Hence arose their jealousy of the BRITISH traders; for the RUSSIAN merchants, particularly those of MOSCO, and the trading towns on the VOLGA, no sooner observed that the PERSIAN markets were glutted with EUROPEAN goods, by the RUSSIA company of ENGLAND, than they began to murmur, resolving to make remonstrances to court on the subject.

The ARMENIANS indeed have for some years extended their trade to the north of PERSIA, much beyond the RUSSIANS; for by means of

[p] It has been said that this was entirely counterfeit, to amuse LEWIS XIV. in his old age; but it appears from several circumstances, as well as the nature of the thing, that this opinion was very ill grounded, if not ridiculous.

their

their credit in HOLLAND, joined to their own capitals, they employed in this branch of commerce about 100,000 l. This ſtock however was now inſufficient to ſupport them; for the exceſſive glut of the market in GHILAN, and the terrible oppreſſion of the PERSIAN government, ſtopped the circulation of their trade, and conſequently ſunk their credit in HOLLAND. At length they were alſo conſtrained to abandon PERSIA, and in 1745 they retired to ASTRACHAN, to wait with their effects till there ſhould be a fair opportunity of returning thither.

Whilſt the RUSSIA company were in ſecurity, they could not be inſenſible of the benefits of buying raw ſilk immediately of the peaſants of GHILAN; but advantages may be over-rated, and indeed ceaſe to be ſuch, when attended with vexations and inconvenience, like thoſe which the CASPIAN traders experienced. It was not however the leſs ungrateful to obſerve the ARMENIANS, a people in themſelves deſpicable, and of no conſequence to RUSSIA, in competition with the BRITISH nation, ſupported and protected in this trade, when meaſures were ſo apparently taking to wreſt it from us. The RUSSIANS do indeed alledge that many of theſe ARMENIANS are ſubjects of their country, and it is true in general, that ſuch of them as are engaged in the CASPIAN trade do put themſelves under the protection of that empire: theſe people are likewiſe educated in all the ſervilities of ASIA, and underſtanding how to accommodate themſelves to indignities, which the genius of a free nation will hardly ſubmit to, are in ſome meaſure the better qualified to carry on a commerce through foreign dominions.

The ſhare which the RUSSIA company enjoyed in this branch of commerce made an ECLAT, but it was not yet puſhed to near the height which the ARMENIANS had carried it: of what conſequence it was to the latter, may be eaſily deduced from hence, that not many years ago they imported into RUSSIA near 1000 bales of raw ſilk [q]; of this the greateſt part was ſent to AMSTERDAM; part of the ſilk was alſo ſent to

[q] Of 25 batmans is 300,000 lbs. of 16 ounces, whereas all the BRITISH trade never amounted to half that quantity.

the GERMAN markets, and about 100 bales remained in the city of MOSCO for the uſe of the RUSSIAN manufactures.

CHAP. VII.

The RUSSIA *company endeavour to reconcile Mr.* ELTON *to the court of St.* PETERSBURG. *They urge him to leave* PERSIA. *Their letters upon this occaſion to lord* TYRAWLEY, *his majeſty's embaſſador to the* RUSSIAN *court; as alſo to Mr.* ELTON. *The* ARMENIANS *intrigue to diſpoſſeſs us of the* CASPIAN *trade.*

DURING my negotiations in PERSIA, the RUSSIA company in LONDON endeavoured by all poſſible means to reconcile Mr. ELTON to the court of St. PETERSBURG. KNEZ SHERBATOVE, the RUSSIAN miniſter in LONDON, made repeated remonſtrances to the BRITISH miniſtry, complaining loudly of ELTON, whom the company defended; for ſome of the members could not be perſuaded that he was really in the PERSIAN ſervice, or if he was, that it ought not to give offence to RUSSIA. This contributed to inflame the jealouſy of the RUSSIANS, and to change it into reſentment; ſo that finding they could not obtain any ſatisfaction upon the ſubject of their complaints, the college of commerce in St. PETERSBURG, in conſequence of a memorial from the great chancellor, iſſued an order to the BRITISH factors in that city, ſignifying "that no goods or merchandize conſigned to Mr. ELTON would "be permitted to paſs through the RUSSIAN empire." This news had reached PERSIA before I left it.

The RUSSIA merchants thus finding the court of St. PETERSBURG ſo much in earneſt, reſolved to deſiſt from any farther ſolicitations in behalf of Mr. ELTON, and, if poſſible, to recall him from PERSIA: with this view the committee appointed for the body of the traders, came to a reſolution of uniting their two houſes in GHILAN, and wrote to Mr. VAN MIEROP and myſelf, as follows.

"London

" London, Auguſt 17, 1744.

" GENTLEMEN,

" THOUGH by many intervening accidents the uniting of our " two houſes in PERSIA has been hitherto prevented, yet it has " been our general view from our firſt ſetting out, as the only means to " preſerve this trade, and carry it on ſucceſsfully, as well for our own " intereſt as that of the nation in general; and this has been on every " occaſion recommended to us in the ſtrongeſt manner by his majeſty's " miniſtry.

" We have ſufficiently obſerved, as well as felt, the ill conſequences " of two rival houſes oppoſing each other, by running down the price " of our manufactures, and raiſing that of raw ſilk, to the great detri- " ment of the national intereſt.

" To prevent theſe prejudicial effects, and compaſs this ſalutary work, " we are come to the unanimous reſolution of fixing one houſe, under " the firm[r] of meſſieurs HANWAY and MIEROP. We congratulate you " and ourſelves on this happy coalition of parties and intereſt, deſiring " that all diſputes and animoſities may be for ever buried in oblivion.

" We hope a firm and hearty friendſhip will animate your endeavours " for the general good of the adventurers, aſſuring you that all our future " conſignments ſhall be made to you only.

" We are, &c."

It is remarkable, that the ſame day on which the committee did me this favour, as appears from the date of the letter; Mr. ELTON thought proper to feign a quarrel with me. The diſtance of GHILAN from LONDON, the jealouſy and diſcontent of the RUSSIANS, and the intereſt of private traders defeated every reſolution of the committee. This was the caſe alſo with regard to the propoſed ſettlement of their factory: I had no inclination to remain in ſo wretched a country, nor could I have been of any ſervice to the company; for the moderation with which I conducted myſelf towards ELTON, and from whence the company had received impreſſions in my favour, had rendered me an object of jealouſy to t[illegible] RUSSIANS:

[r] A mercantile term for the ſignature of merchants.

RUSSIANS. This appeared two months after this letter was wrote, when the college of foreign affairs ſent a memorial to the college of commerce in St. PETERSBURG, in which it was ordered "That the college of commerce do acquaint the merchants of the prohibition which is made ſolely on account of the injurious conduct of ELTON towards the RUSSIANS, and that the ſaid merchants ſhall not ſend any goods to either of their agents, ELTON or HANWAY, for they ſhall by no means be permitted to paſs through ASTRACHAN."

In the interim the RUSSIA company, anxious for the preſervation of their trade, wrote to Mr. ELTON as follows.

"SIR, London, October 26, 1744.

"YOUR friends and correſpondents having had ſingular proofs of your capacity, and of your ſteadineſs and induſtry in promoting the CASPIAN trade through RUSSIA, are very ſenſibly affected, as you may imagine, that any part of your conduct ſhould give the leaſt offence to her imperial majeſty of RUSSIA, much more that the ſteps you have been taking ſhould procure an abſolute prohibition of correſpondency with you. We have uſed our utmoſt endeavours to mitigate this reſolution, but find, by the repeated memorials delivered here and in MOSCO, that there is no appearance of continuing this trade unleſs you leave PERSIA. We flatter ourſelves that in conſideration of the neceſſity we are under of obeying her imperial majeſty, that you will ſacrifice your private views to the public good, and, as ſoon as poſſible, return to your native country.

"The committee for the CASPIAN trade, and all others who are intereſted, propoſe, on your return to ENGLAND, to ſettle on you 400 l. per annum, to be levied on the PERSIAN trade; or to ſolicit an honourable employment for you in the BRITISH navy, in which laſt we have a moral certainty of ſucceeding, whatever may be the fate of the trade; and we cannot doubt of your preferring ſuch a competency at home, to any advantages you can now expect.

"We are, &c."

This

This letter they incloſed to lord TYRAWLEY, his majeſty's embaſſador in RUSSIA, deſiring his good offices to prevent the deſtructive conſequences of Mr. ELTON's conduct. Their letter is as follows.

"MY LORD, London, October 26, 1744.

"IN our laſt letter we applied to your lordſhip concerning our trade "to PERSIA, and had the honour to repreſent, that we had at laſt "compaſſed an union, and reſolved to have only one houſe in GHILAN. "As the court of RUSSIA perſiſts in their reſentments againſt Mr. ELTON, which involves our trade over the CASPIAN in great difficulties, "we therefore acquaint your lordſhip, that we are determined neither "directly nor indirectly to make any conſignment, or carry on any trade "with ELTON, of which we beg your lordſhip will acquaint that court.

"You are ſenſible, my lord, that we have no coercive power over Mr. "ELTON, but we have all joined in a general letter to him, repreſenting "the inconveniencies ariſing to our trade by his ſtay in PERSIA; and, "to induce him to return home, we have agreed to make him the offer of a handſome yearly penſion, with an intent to preſerve this trade, "and to avoid giving any kind of offence. Her imperial majeſty's miniſters muſt be convinced that this is all we can poſſibly do; and with "this we comply, from a ſincere deſire of removing the diſpleaſures of "the RUSSIAN court.

"We are, my lord, &c."

In December following, lord TYRAWLEY ſent this letter to Mr. ELTON, through DAGISTAN into PERSIA, with another from himſelf, and alſo a paſſport from the great chancellor count BESTUCHEFF, that he might have ſafe conduct through the RUSSIAN dominions.

Mean while the ARMENIANS, who had treated our MESCHED ſcheme as extravagant, now beheld our ſucceſs with a jealous eye, and employed all the engines of falſehood and corruption to ruin our trade: they declared without reſerve, that they would chearfully diſburſe a large ſum to diſpoſſeſs us of it; but they made no doubt but we ſhould do their buſineſs ourſelves, exulting in a perſuaſion that the conſequences of Mr.

ELTON's engagements in PERSIA, would be a means of utterly extinguiſhing our commerce.

CHAP. VIII.

Mr. ELTON's *anſwer to lord* TYRAWLEY, *and alſo to the committee of the* CASPIAN *traders. Remarks on his conduct and that of the* RUSSIA *company. The author's letter to* JOHN ELTON *on this occaſion.*

MR. ELTON having received lord TYRAWLEY's letter, made the following reply.

" MY LORD, GHILAN, February 7, 1745.

" I HAD the honour to receive your lordſhip's letter, dated the 7th " of December laſt; I have alſo the encloſed paſſport for my ſafe re- " turn through RUSSIA, and a letter from the principal members of the " RUSSIA company, for all which I beg leave to make your lordſhip my " moſt humble acknowledgments.

" Your lordſhip's recommending my return to GREAT BRITAIN, muſt " neceſſarily have the greateſt weight with me, though at the ſame time " I apprehend it is not the intereſt of thoſe gentlemen who deſire it as " my own, that I ſhould return. I am, my lord, under no engagements " to the SHAH, but thoſe of gratitude for the many favours his majeſty " has been pleaſed to confer on me; and ſuch, a man of the leaſt gene- " roſity can never forego. In about ſix weeks I expect to be called to " his camp, when I ſhall endeavour by all honourable means to diſen- " gage myſelf from his affairs; but I muſt be ſo ingenuous as to confeſs " I have little hopes to ſucceed in this point, as I am too well aſſured of " the SHAH's ſteadineſs and reſolution to accompliſh whatever he attempts.

" Were the merits of my conduct in PERSIA impartially conſidered, " I humbly conceive that my fellow-ſubjects ought to be blamed more " than I, inaſmuch as they do not reap the benefit of this branch of " trade in its utmoſt extent; and that thoſe miſchiefs attributed to me are

" very

" very unjuſtly laid to my charge. To this end I muſt crave, my lord, " that you will peruſe the encloſed letters, which perhaps may give a dif- " ferent opinion of the CASPIAN trade, from what your lordſhip ſeems " at preſent to entertain of it. I muſt humbly refer your lordſhip for my " ultimate reſolve in regard to my return, until I arrive at the camp, " and know the SHAH's pleaſure therein.

" I am, my lord, &c.

J. ELTON to the committee for the CASPIAN traders.

" SIRS, GHILAN, February 7, 1744-5.

" I HAVE been acquainted with your reſolutions of Auguſt laſt, and " received copies of your letters to the right honourable the lord " CARTERET and lord TYRAWLY in my behalf.

" The difficulties I met with here when I arrived laſt from RUSSIA, " and my zeal to promote the intereſt of my employers, neceſſitated me " to give into the SHAH's meaſures, as the only means to obtain his " majeſty's favour, being then, as I am now, ſatisfied, that without it, " our affairs muſt have been inevitably ruined. Theſe ſteps, however " unforeſeen the conſequence, raiſed very powerful enemies againſt me; " I ſay however unforeſeen, for it never entered my mind, that the build- " ing a few ſhips of burthen for the SHAH, could give umbrage to ſo " powerful a monarch as her imperial majeſty of RUSSIA; or that the en- " deavours of ſo inſignificant a perſon as myſelf, could be ever thought " worthy the notice of her miniſters. Does not our ſovereign permit " his ſubjects to ſerve her imperial majeſty of RUSSIA, both by land " and ſea? and does not the treaty of commerce tolerate the ſubjects of " RUSSIA to reſide in GREAT BRITAIN to learn arts and ſciences? yet I " never heard that any powers of the north were offended, or took um- " brage at our indulgences to the RUSSIAN nation.

" It is objected, that as our trade is carried on through RUSSIA, it is " in her imperial majeſty's power to ſtop or incommode it whenever ſhe " thinks proper; but if this ſhould ever happen, then what does a treaty " of commerce, or indeed any other treaty avail, if the endeavour of a

" ſingle

" ſingle ſubject, even if his purſuits were contrary to the laws of his own
" country, can deſtroy the right a whole nation has to the benefit of
" ſuch a treaty? You have given up publicly to his moſt powerful ene-
" mies, to whom he never gave juſt ſubject of offence, a perſon you
" have been pleaſed to think has deſerved well of you, and whom you
" condeſcend to acknowledge may yet be of no ſmall advantage to the
" future advancements of your affairs. What can be deſired more from
" you, or what in reality is more in your power? The freedom, God be
" thanked, of our nation is ſuch, that if her ſubjects tranſgreſs not their
" own laws by rebellion, piracy, or the like, they have nothing to fear,
" even from their own ſovereign, much leſs from any other monarch on
" earth: and it may be preſumed, that they will be protected in the juſt
" rights they were born to, though thoſe rights may be as inconceivable
" to a man bred a ſlave, as colours to a perſon born blind. I think,
" Sirs, it concerns you to be as anxious, at leaſt to eſtabliſh your inter-
" eſt with that monarch, in whoſe country your principal ſcene of action
" lies, as with the prince who gives you acceſs to it [r].

" It is true, your caſe is critically circumſtanced; you are to gain the
" intereſt of the SHAH by the very means that muſt deprive you of the
" favour of her imperial majeſty: however, I do not queſtion but all
" this may by ſome means or other, which your own prudence will
" ſuggeſt to you, be eaſily reconciled. The welfare of the BRITISH
" trade through RUSSIA, is what I always had, and ſtill have, moſt at
" heart, however I may have been miſtaken in my purſuits to eſtabliſh
" and advance it; but I am very far from being conſcious that I am
" miſtaken; therefore, gentlemen, if you ſhould happen to be of a dif-
" ferent opinion, the greater ſtill muſt be my misfortune. I have the
" trueſt ſenſe of obligation to you, but if nothing except my immediate
" return can continue me in your favour and eſteem, I beg you will not
" looſe one ſingle thought upon me.

" I am, &c.

[r] Here he enumerates the ſeveral grievances ariſing from the arbitrary conduct of the RUSSIAN conſul in PERSIA, which are too tedious to inſert, particularly as they are contained in the memorial, chap. IX.

Beſides

Beſides theſe two letters, he wrote a very long vindication of himſelf, not without many ſhrewd remarks, but very inconcluſive. Whether Mr. ELTON was perſuaded that the building ſhips on the CASPIAN for the PERSIAN ſervice, would be attended with inconveniences to the RUSSIANS, is what I cannot determine; but this ſeems to be certain, that we might have traded without ſuch a project; and it appeared quite agreeable to reaſon, that unleſs we could convey our merchandize through the RUSSIAN empire with the good will of that nation, there could be no conveyance at all: the nature of a trade through a foreign dominion, ſuch as RUSSIA and TARTARY, muſt be ſo conſtituted, that whenever it is not reliſhed by the inhabitants, it is liable to be ruined by many ſecret means, againſt which no ſanction of national compact can provide. The RUSSIANS had long enjoyed the ſovereignty of the CASPIAN, and it was not to be imagined they would be idle ſpectators, if the PERSIANS claimed any ſhare of it, much leſs that they would expoſe themſelves to the conſequences of a PERSIAN naval power, which might affect their commercial affairs, or the ſecurity of their frontier.

Tho' NADIR's predominant paſſion was that of military glory, yet he was not ignorant of the advantages of commerce, ſo that a prudent conduct would certainly have procured us a ſufficient degree of his favour, as ſubjects of a foreign prince with whom he was in friendſhip; and as merchants, by whom his revenues received a conſiderable increaſe. This was the ſenſe of the matter, and ſo evident, that neither the embaſſador nor the RUSSIA company thought it would anſwer any purpoſe to contradict Mr. ELTON's reaſonings: however I reſolved to write to him once more, in my own name, in remembrance of our former acquaintance, and on account of the effects he yet had in his hands, not to mention the civility he was entitled to for opening this branch of commerce. In regard to his conduct, he had probably erred in judgment only, for it could not be conceived that he deſigned to deſtroy this infant trade, of which he had been in ſo eminent a degree the parent. With the conſent therefore and approbation of his majeſty's embaſſador, I wrote to him as follows.

Mr.

Mr. JOHN ELTON.

SIR, St. PETERSBURG, April 30, 1745.

"SINCE I left ASTRACHAN in November laſt, I have not wrote to "you, nor would I trouble you now were I not actuated with a ſin- "cere deſire of promoting your intereſt together with that of the trade. "I cannot but conſider it as a misfortune, that it ever was imagined the "government of this country could be unconcerned, with regard to the "enterprize in which you are engaged. You declare that your only "intent was to obtain protection for our trade, and the merchants for "ſome time conſidered it in this light; nor ought we now to be further "accountable than to uſe our endeavours to remove the occaſion of the "offence. You cannot be inſenſible that the BRITISH miniſtry, as well "as the RUSSIA company, are intirely diſpoſed to ſhow a due regard to "the inclinations of the RUSSIAN court: for there needs no argument "to prove the impoſſibility of carrying on the trade in oppoſition to "them; and every government will judge for itſelf.

"The only way to convince the company of the integrity of your in- "tentions, is to endeavour by all poſſible means to remove the occaſion "of offence; and this cannot be done effectually without your leaving "PERSIA. The merchants have made you an offer, for the particulars of "which I refer you to their own letter: the ſtrongeſt aſſurances have been "given by the miniſtry here to his majeſty's embaſſador, for the ſecurity "of your perſon in returning through this country; ſo that nothing ſeems "to be wanting but your hearty concurrence to the eſtabliſhment of our "trade: on the other hand, ſhould theſe motives prove ineffectual through "any temptation you may have in PERSIA, it will be as hard to perſuade "the CASPIAN traders that you intend them any good, as it will be "eaſy to imagine in what light you muſt be conſidered.

"My lord HINDFORD often expreſſes a great ſolicitude for your re- "turn; he has even entertained ſuch an opinion of your capacity, that "he would gladly recommend you to the king, as a very fit perſon to "go in ſearch of the north weſt paſſage, the parliament having lately re-

"ſolved

" ſolved to give a very conſiderable præmium to the firſt diſcoverer. " If this argument has no weight, there are many other reaſons of the " greateſt force which ought to engage every good ſubject to uſe his ut- " moſt endeavours to put a ſtop to this growing evil, and reconcile us to the " RUSSIANS: And can you, who have acquired ſo much reputation, re- " fuſe to ſacrifice a private paſſion to the public good?

" In all countries there will be people of different opinions, but, if " what I obſerve is right; thoſe who are at the helm of the RUSSIAN go- " vernment, and whoſe judgment alone is of much weight in this matter, " think that our trade may become advantageous to RUSSIA, as the an- " tient courſe of it through TURKEY will be diverted, and the profit re- " moved hither, by the duty and charges to, and from PERSIA: you may " be aſſured however that no advantages are eſteemed an equivalent for " the alarms which are given by the undertaking in queſtion, ſhould it " be purſued.

" We flattered ourſelves that our trade would not be expoſed to any " ſevere reſentment, for an accident which is foreign to it; and remote " from the intentions of the merchants; but this in fact is not the caſe; " you muſt leave PERSIA, or our trade is undone: and what will your " ſtay in that country avail? You will ſoon be ſenſible of the impoſſibi- " lity of purſuing this enterprize with any ſucceſs, for the many reaſons " I have often mentioned to you, which are now too tedious to enu- " merate. I will take no other notice of myſelf than that I have been " perſecuted in conſequence of your miſtaken jealouſy and unprovoked " reſentments; but I can forgive. I heartily wiſh that all may be well " again, and am, Sir, &c."

CHAP. IX.

The CASPIAN *trade obſtructed on Mr.* ELTON's *account. Memorial on this ſubject to the* BRITISH *conſul at St.* PETERSBURG, *in conſequence of the greivances complained of by the* BRITISH *factors in* PERSIA. NADIR SHAH's *decree detaining* J. ELTON. *The* SHAH *ſends a commiſſary into* RUSSIA *with a cargo of raw ſilk. The* BRITISH *ſhips are ſold to* RUSSIAN *merchants.*

MR. ELTON, I preſume, was not ſo blinded by his prejudices, but he acknowledged in his own breaſt, that my letter contained, in a great meaſure, the true ſtate of the caſe; but it is probable he was too deeply engaged to leave his maſter; or had private reaſons why he did not chuſe to return to ENGLAND; unleſs ſome very good proviſion had been made for him, and ſecured in the moſt ſatisfactory manner. He was now in a country where no amuſements could call him off, and though he had to ſtruggle with great difficulties in the purſuit of his undertaking, his genius and induſtry were equal to them: the fear of being baffled and rendered an object of contempt on one ſide; and on the other, the hope of acquiring honour as well as profit by his ſucceſs, were very ſtrong motives to action; but theſe were yet ſtrengthened by his reſentment of the perſecution, which he naturally ſuppoſed would be carried on againſt him on the part of the RUSSIAN court. Thus the ſame incentive which ſtimulated his endeavours to promote the SHAH's deſigns, encreaſed the odium of the RUSSIANS againſt him, which they demonſtrated in repeated inſtances deſtructive of our CASPIAN trade.

As neither the merchants in LONDON, nor the factors in St. PETERSBURG, thought themſelves in ſtrict juſtice accountable for what NADIR, or his ſervant ELTON, ſhould think proper to employ themſelves about, it was but natural they ſhould ſtruggle hard to preſerve their trade: they had already ſuffered a detention of their effects in ASTRACHAN, and many indignities from the RUSSIAN conſul in GHILAN; this at length produced the following memorial which the BRITISH factors in St. PETERSBURG, addreſſed to his majeſty's conſul in that city in the ſummer this year [f].

[f] 1745.

"To

"To JACOB WOLFF, eſquire, his BRITANNIC majeſty's conſul at St.
" PETERSBURG.

" SIR,

" THE BRITISH trade through this empire to PERSIA, having re-
" ceived great marks of attention both from the BRITISH and the
" RUSSIAN governments, we hope the difficulties it now labours under
" will alſo merit their particular regard. Her imperial majeſty's father,
" of immortal memory, often propoſed and recommended this trade to the
" BRITISH ſubjects; and it is now agreed to by a ſolemn national compact.
" The BRITISH legiſlature thought it worthy their encouragement, and
" in conſequence of a powerful and expenſive ſolicitation, an act of par-
" liament was obtained in our favour, the good effects of which we ex-
" pect to be preſerved to us.

" The miniſters of her imperial majeſty cannot be inſenſible of the
" great importance of the BRITISH trade to the ſubjects of this em-
" pire, and it is upon this account we preſume, that the protection of
" RUSSIA is promiſed to us, as to the moſt favoured of all the nations in
" friendſhip with this government. We are not only the ſubjects of a
" prince in perfect amity with her imperial majeſty, but from a regard to
" our own particular intereſts, and even from inclination, we have a con-
" cern for her happineſs and glory: hence we are the more affected
" with the treatment we have received from the RUSSIAN conſul in GHI-
" LAN, eſpecially as we have given all poſſible proof of the ſincerity of
" our deſires to remove every object of offence.

" We cannot indeed conceive that the RUSSIAN conſul is authorized
" to diſtreſs us; but under a pretence of zeal for the ſervice of his own
" country, he has endeavoured to render our trade and factors odious,
" the better to carry his own point: this can be no other than to give our
" ſhare of the trade, into the hands of the ARMENIANS, becauſe he
" makes exactions on them with impunity; eſpecially with regard to the
" ſhipping in GHILAN, over which he aſſumes ſo deſtructive an autho-
" rity. His taking away captain BLAIR'S crew, at a time when the BRI-

" TISH ſhip ELIZABETH was in the extreameſt diſtreſs; his writing to " his court that this ſhip was ſold to the SHAH; his miſrepreſentations " of the conduct of every private BRITISH factor in GHILAN; his tak- " ing the advantage of ELTON's enterprize, to inſinuate as if all the " BRITISH ſubjects were plotting againſt the RUSSIAN government; his " arreſting an ARMENIAN, who is our factor's head ſervant and broker, " a perſon of worth and ſobriety; his beating him cruelly, and preventing " the execution of his maſter's buſineſs, are all inconteſtable proofs of his " intentions to ſacrifice our trade to his private views. Therefore, Sir, we " beg that either he may be recalled from GHILAN, or ordered, in the " moſt ſerious manner, to conduct himſelf towards the BRITISH factors in " PERSIA, as to perſons intitled to all poſſible protection and regard. If " neither of theſe can be obtained, we ſee no proſpect of preſerving our " trade, nor any method of preventing its being wreſted from us very ſoon.

" The merchants of ASTRACHAN have as many ſhips as can find em- " ploy; we only deſire the liberty of a free agreement for the freight of " our goods, that our trade may not be obſtructed by the RUSSIAN con- " ſul upon any frivolous pretence. As our ſhips on the CASPIAN were " built by imperial authority, and the uſe of them is no longer continu- " ed to us [f], we deſire that the government will pay to their owners the " charge of building and fitting them out, agreeably to the repeated de- " clarations made by KNEZ SHERBATOVE, her imperial majeſty's miniſter " at the BRITISH court. Moreover, as no buſineſs can be carried on " without correſpondence, we deſire that the ſaid conſul be ordered to " deliver our letters regularly; for we write about our own affairs, and " have no manner of concern with Mr. ELTON's projects.

" We are further reſolved to do our utmoſt to promote the moſt per- " fect underſtanding with the officers and ſubjects of her imperial ma- " jeſty, both in ASTRACHAN and in PERSIA; in conſequence hereof our " principals in LONDON have lately ſent over, through this country, two " perſons of good conduct [t], who are amply inſtructed to avoid all theſe

[f] This was thought an expedient to reconcile theſe differences.

[t] Mr. CHARLES THOMPSON and Mr. G. PRESTON.

unhappy

"; unhappy differences. But give us leave, Sir, again to repeat that it is "abſolutely impoſſible to prevent theſe painful contentions, and the total "diſſolution of our trade, whilſt Mr. BAKOONIN, or any other RUSSIAN "conſul who may ſucceed him, is ſo very much indiſpoſed to live in "harmony with us. If there is any particular circumſtance in which "our factors are deficient, we deſire you will acquaint us, or give them "inſtructions yourſelf; and it would be a great means of reconciling all "difficulties, could they be informed what orders are given concerning "them, that they be not ignorant of any thing which can contribute to "the eſtabliſhment and ſupport of a perfect underſtanding.

"We are, &c."

But our trade was devoted to ruin, and no remonſtrance whatſoever could make any impreſſion on the RUSSIAN miniſtry. Though our complaints were founded upon very ſtrong evidence of the frequent inſolences and the moſt wanton indignities offered us by the RUSSIAN conſul in GHILAN; yet we could obtain no ſatisfaction: they were indeed tacitly acknowledged; but at the ſame time we were continually reproached with Mr. ELTON's proceedings in PERSIA, which was in effect to undeceive us with regard to the ſupport of our commerce, on any other terms than his removal. And yet the RUSSIAN miniſtry ſaw we could not make any impreſſion upon ELTON, his remaining in that country being at length determined, as the reader will judge from NADIR SHAH's decree, of which ELTON himſelf ſent us a tranſlation, viz.

"BY the merits of Almighty God our commands are ever obeyed. "The propereſt of the chriſtians GEMAL BEG [u], commiſſioner of "our royal navy on the CASPIAN ſea, is by our imperial and moſt gra- "cious favour exalted, and given to KNOW; that his petition with re- "gard to his finiſhing one large ſhip, and deſiring leave to go with ſuch "ſhip to ASTRACHAN; and concerning ſeveral other points; is come "to our moſt ſacred preſence, and the meaning thereof underſtood.

[u] GEMAL BEG is a flattering appellation, ſignifying the lord of beauty, or, as we may tranſlate it, "the knight of the good countenance," which NADIR gave ELTON; for BEG ſeems to be more properly a title anſwering to our knights.

"But

" But as our imperial deſign is to call the propereſt of the chriſtians at " new year [w] to our victorious ſtirrup, and to ſettle our naval affairs on a " right foundation. Therefore the propereſt of the chriſtians muſt defer " going to ASTRACHAN himſelf, but ſend ſuch ſailors as he has with " him who underſtand navigation, to take care of the ſhip to that port; " and the propereſt of the chriſtians muſt remain where he is, and fi- " niſh the other ſhips ordered, give full directions concerning them, " and not exclude himſelf: but on the contrary, make the beauty of his " ſervice appear in the preſence of our univerſal glory; taking this as a " command, and to remain in his duty.

" Dated the 26th of the moon SHEWAL, 1158 [x]."

The concluſion of this decree ſeems to be very definitive, though it is the ordinary ſtile in ſuch caſes. It is not in the leaſt ſurpriſing that NADIR made a favourite point of his maritime deſigns: his exactions had diſabled his people from contributing to the ſupport of his army, and had alſo the pernicious conſequences of putting an entire ſtop to trade. But his inclination to war being not leſſened by the neceſſity of uſing his INDIAN treaſure, while his avarice encreaſed beyond all conception, he determined to turn merchant himſelf: by the intimation given in the decree, he expected one of his own veſſels would be ready to tranſport his firſt adventure to ASTRACHAN; but in this he was miſtaken, for none of the veſſels, which ELTON compleated for him, ever came farther than DERBEND, and that only for one or two voyages.

The SHAH had ordered a capital of 100,000 crowns to be employed in trade, under the care of HAHDGEE SEFFIE, the cuſtomer of RESHD, a man of good reputation: he ordered him to lay out half the capital in raw ſilk and PERSIAN manufactures, to be immediately tranſported into RUSSIA; and there to be ſold for his account, or to be carried from thence to any other part of EUROPE, as this commiſſary ſhould think moſt for his intereſt. The HAHDGEE was accordingly ſent over in a RUSSIAN veſſel to ASTRACHAN with 200 bales of raw ſilk.

[w] The beginning of the year which he alludes to, according to the PERSIANS, is the vernal equinox, or 10th of March. [x] November 19th, 1745.

A royal

A royal merchant who might blend politics with commerce, could not eaſily procure a favourable reception in RUSSIA: the deſign in itſelf was not leſs ungrateful to the RUSSIANS, than that of ELTON's building of ſhips. It is not improbable that a man of NADIR's genius had ſome regard, in a project of this ſort, to the intelligence which he might procure of what was paſſing in EUROPE, eſpecially concerning the TURKS, the entire conqueſt of whom he had often meditated. As a merchant however he declared his expectations of a return of 60 per cent. per annum, which, conſidering NADIR's uſual conduct, was no great encouragement to his agent ever to make him ANY RETURN AT ALL.

The RUSSIANS and PERSIANS are by treaty mutually exempt from paying cuſtoms, but as in GHILAN the SHAH received the duty of ſilk of the peaſants, and conſequently the RUSSIANS paid it in the price given for that commodity, ſo in RUSSIA no one was permitted to buy PERSIAN ſilk without paying the duty upon exportation; and thus the intention of favouring each other was on both ſides defeated: but had the PERSIAN commiſſary thought it proper, or could have obtained a paſſage through RUSSIA into any other part of EUROPE, he would have ſaved the tranſit duty to his maſter, as the RUSSIANS ſave the duty of their imports into PERSIA.

To return to our own affairs; it was ſtill impoſſible for the BRITISH factors in GHILAN to conduct themſelves in ſuch a manner, but the RUSSIAN conſul in that province found ſomething to object to; in particular that they were too much in the PERSIAN intereſt, and interfered with the RUSSIAN merchants, whoſe greateſt profits aroſe from ſhipping. The memorial recited in the laſt chapter, mentions our acquieſcence in giving up what we could not keep, viz. the two BRITISH ſhips on the CASPIAN ſea: at the requeſt of the court of St. PETERSBURG, theſe ſhips were at length ſold to RUSSIAN merchants at ASTRACHAN, and from that time navigated under the RUSSIAN flag. Thus ended the ſhort-lived BRITISH navigation on the CASPIAN ſea, whereby a deep wound was given to this trade already in an expiring condition. The RUSSIANS however benefited by our loſs, and received no ſmall advantage

tage from the models we left them, and by learning of us in thoſe parts, as they had before done in St. PETERSBURG, the uſe of the beſt materials for ſhip building.

CHAP. X.

Antient trade to TURKEY. *Several factories eſtabliſhed in that country. Manufactories in* LANGUEDOC. *The enterpriſing genius of the* FRENCH, *and the amount of their* LEVANT *trade in* 1720. *Defence of the* TURKEY *company. Remarks on the ſilks imported from the* CASPIAN, *and alſo on bullion.*

WHILST the RUSSIA company was thus endeavouring by all poſſible means to eſtabliſh their CASPIAN trade, our commerce to the LEVANT was greatly the ſubject of debate; and though it might not be in ſo bad a condition as that over the CASPIAN, yet it certainly languiſhed with a very ſenſible decay. The connexion it has with the CASPIAN trade; and the utility which a memorial of what then paſt, may have in regard to any future inquiries, will, I hope, be an excuſe for this digreſſion.

Our trade to TURKEY firſt began to flouriſh in queen ELIZABETH's reign, when it was carried on moſtly by bullion. King JAMES I. eſtabliſhed a company by charter, and CHARLES II. confirmed it: but it was no earlier than the reign of the latter that we introduced our woollen manufactures into TURKEY in any conſiderable quantity, and of theſe our kerſeys were then the chief part; however, we have now a treaty of commerce ſubſiſting with the PORT, and by means of our TURKEY company have ſupported ourſelves in that trade for a ſeries of years, much to the advantage of the nation. The factories eſtabliſhed in TURKEY are at SMYRNA, ALEPPO, CONSTANTINOPLE and CAIRO: at all theſe places the FRENCH are ſettled alſo; they import cloth and AMERICAN goods, in exchange of which they take wool, corn, oil, raw ſilk and other rich commodities; they have likewiſe ſeveral other ſettlements, by which they increaſe their influence in TURKEY. It was not however

till

till the reign of LEWIS XIV. that they made any ſhining figure in this trade. The firſt introduction of the FRENCH into the LEVANT trade was attended with very favourable circumſtances to that nation; for the TURKS, in hopes of obtaining their aſſiſtance againſt the emperor CHARLES V. ſhewed them a very diſtinguiſhed regard.

Under LEWIS XIV. Mr. COLBERT eſtabliſhed fabrics of cloth in LANGUEDOC, and obtained great ſupport and encouragement to the manufacturers: by this he propoſed not only to promote the commerce of his own country, but to enter into political ſchemes with the TURKS. The FRENCH, in order to ſhew their ſuperior power and grandeur, ſent at this time a large fleet of ſhips of war to CONSTANTINOPLE; a thing which has been ſince practiſed by FRANCE, though not with equal ſucceſs. So induſtrious is that nation to try all poſſible expedients to promote her intereſt, and from the pride of military glory, to direct her aims to the increaſe of her riches by commerce: I remember when I was a factor at LISBON about the year 1740, Mr. CHAVIGNIE came as embaſſador from the court of FRANCE to the king of PORTUGAL, and as we then imagined, chiefly with a view to commerce. The PORTUGUEZE thought it was highly inconſiſtent with the dignity of his character as an embaſſador, to bring patterns of woollen goods, and produce them publicly at court; but he was of a different opinion, and probably was not without hopes of ſupplanting us. Soon after his arrival, ſeveral FRENCH ſhips and ſloops of war anchored in the TAGUS, the officers of which, even to the ſubalterns, were conducted in proceſſion to court; a ſight which was extremely ridiculous to the PORTUGUEZE, who are no ſtrangers to the ſuperior maritime power of GREAT BRITAIN. But what gave them the worſt impreſſion of this effort of FRANCE, was the attempt of introducing clandeſtinely a conſiderable quantity of FRENCH linens, which were brought, and part of them ſecretly landed, by thoſe very ſhips of war.

In regard to Mr. COLBERT's ſcheme of eſtabliſhing the FRENCH commerce in TURKEY, the reader will obſerve by the papers already quoted [y], and delivered to our miniſtry in June 1739, what great encouragement

[y] Vol. I. p. 59, &c.

was given to the manufactories eſtabliſhed in LANGUEDOC, and ſince extended to PROVENCE. Before this time the UNITED PROVINCES had a conſiderable trade to TURKEY, but it is now declined, and in ſome places does not entertain near the number of factors as they had formerly. In 1720, when the plague broke out at MERSAILLES, FRANCE imported into TURKEY 500,000 l. value.

	£.
Of which in cloth about	240,000
In cutlery and other ſmall goods	20,000
Indigo	50,000
Sugar	20,000
Coffee	15,000
And the ballance in ſilver	155,000

It is to be obſerved here, that the FRENCH have the permiſſion of ſending the produce of their AMERICAN colonies directly to TURKEY; and the ſituation of MERSAILLES, in regard to the LEVANT trade, is certainly a great advantage, eſpecially as that city enjoys an excluſive charter. Their cloths are ſpungy, but they are thin, light and ſoft, and adapted to the taſte of the TURKS: as their manufactories are under good regulation, they ſupport the quality, and by this means prevent the diminution of the price; and as there is an account given of the merchants and their effects, no one is ſuffered to ſell more than a proportion of the ſtock he poſſeſſes; ſo that they ſeem here to employ their arbitrary power to an advantageous purpoſe. Immediately after the concluſion of queen ANN's war, the FRENCH crouded to TURKEY with ſuch a profuſion of cloth and other goods as glutted the market extremely, by which means many of the principal merchants of MERSAILLES were ruined: this revived our trade, and in the next five years, though we ſent a conſiderable quantity of ſilver, we annually exported 18,000 cloths for TURKEY; but from that time our trade began to decline.

PETER the GREAT having taken poſſeſſion of GHILAN in 1722, the inhabitants of that province neglected the cultivation of their raw ſilk, ſo that our factors in TURKEY ſoon felt the effect of it; and this was another

another wound to our LEVANT trade. Beſides the progreſs of the FRENCH, and the RUSSIANS ſeizing the ſilk provinces of PERSIA, further reaſons appeared for the decay of our TURKEY trade. The coffee from EGYPT, which uſed to be a conſiderable article, had of late years very much failed, as it came cheaper from MOCHA by our EAST INDIA ſhips. Rhubarb, which had alſo been at a much higher price than it is at preſent, a great part of it which uſed to come by way of TURKEY, is now brought through the RUSSIAN dominions for account of that government, and generally ſent to AMSTERDAM. The price of raw ſilk in EUROPE had likewiſe declined for ſome time [z]. Mohair was an article of ſome importance, being conſumed in buttons, button-holes and camblets: but goats, of whoſe hair this is made, ſometimes rot as our ſheep do, and this occaſioned a diminution in the import, whilſt our home conſumption alſo decreaſed by means of the new faſhion of metal buttons. The buyers of mohair however complained aloud that this commodity was imported only from TURKEY, and that the merchants had kept it up to an exorbitant price, importing only 600 bags for the ſpace of 16 months, and the package of that very inferior.

In regard to the SHERBAFF ſilk, which was bought by our factors in GHILAN, and ſent home through RUSSIA, it was found to be two ſhillings in a pound better than the PERSIAN SHERBAFF imported from TURKEY; for the waſte of one is only 10 per cent. and the other 20, the latter being a natural conſequence of the fraudulent package uſed by the ARMENIANS [a].

With reſpect to FRANCE, the duty in TURKEY called MESSATARIA, has been taken off in favour of that nation, which is 2 $\frac{1}{6}$ dollar per bale of cloth, and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ad valorem on all goods ſold by weight: they alſo obtained a reduction of the cuſtom, a bale of 20 cloths being charged at 30 dollars only, which was before at 40. Theſe were very ſtrong reaſons why the TURKEY trade was ſo much declined, reaſons which called aloud for all the relief that the nature of the thing would poſſibly

[z] From 1745 it again advanced very conſiderably.

[a] The RUSSIANS ſeem to have as little regard in this particular.

admit:

admit: but that ſuch an unreſtrained liberty of commerce as the complainants required, would have anſwered the end, and afforded that relief, was very far from being a clear matter.

With regard to the carrying on the ſilk trade by bullion, the parliament thought it for the intereſt of the nation to tie up the hands of the RUSSIA company, in the purchaſe of raw ſilk in PERSIA for gold or ſilver, or in exchange for any commodities except our manufactures. The RUSSIAN government was likewiſe ſo far alarmed as to make it death to export gold or ſilver through that country into the SHAH's dominions. It often happens however, when the demand for cloth in PERSIA is much ſhort of the value of the raw ſilk at market, this commodity is then obtainable only for money. The TURKEY company was very ſenſible of this, and though their trade was underſtood to be carried on by manufactories only, yet they have often imported into TURKEY great quantities of SPANISH ſilver. Indeed I never could apprehend this to be injurious to the national intereſt, more than the commerce which is carried on from hence to the UNITED PROVINCES and other countries, in the gold and ſilver of foreign dominions. The national coin, I conceive, ought to be ſacred to us who have no mines of gold or ſilver; but foreign coin or bullion is only a commodity, which may be advantageouſly exported in exchange for any material of a beneficial trade. An unwrought commodity manufactured at home, whilſt it gives employment to our people, will produce gold and ſilver; for induſtry is the true ſource of riches: beſides, trade ſeldom can be forced but to a great diſadvantage, and perhaps in no country with more difficulty and loſs than in PERSIA. Nor can the conſumption of our manufactures be diminiſhed by exporting bullion, unleſs we ſuppoſe that where money is plenty, there will be leſs demand for cloathing; whereas experience proves the contrary: and as to bartering cloth for ſilk, it is not practiſed in PERSIA; but ready money being paid for ſuch ſilk, the PERSIAN merchant will lay it out again in cloth if he finds it beneficial. When a market IS glutted, it is often better to ſell even at a loſs, which may be always done where there is money, and by this means make quick returns, than to ſuffer goods to lay-by any length of time: when

when a market is NOT glutted, manufactures or merchandize are always ſuppoſed to be moſt beneficial to the private merchants, and conſequently the import of them preferred to gold or ſilver: but if at any certain time there is abſolutely no demand for our goods, is it beneficial to a nation to prohibit the uſe of gold and ſilver in the purchace of an unwrought commodity, the manufactory of which brings an accumulation of wealth?

We do in fact ſend out gold and ſilver to ſeveral countries in EUROPE [b], from whence we receive only wrought commodities, or uſeleſs articles. But if the prohibition of employing gold or ſilver is founded in reaſon, it cannot operate to the intent of the legiſlature in particular caſes. It does not, I think, ſeem applicable to the TURKEY nor to the INDIAN trade; nor will it I conceive be to that of PERSIA, if ever we eſtabliſh ourſelves again in the northern provinces of that country.

CHAP. XI.

Enquiries concerning the LEVANT *trade in* 1744. *The great advantage of it. The importance of our woollen manufactures. Further reaſons for the decay of the* LEVANT *trade. The interpoſition of the crown neceſſary.*

OUR TURKEY trade was now fallen into ſo ſenſible a decay, that ſeveral perſons, particularly clothiers and packers, began to intereſt themſelves deeply: Mr. JOHN LODGE, an eminent packer, ſhewed a patriot ſpirit upon this occaſion: and, in conjunction with ſeveral conſiderable merchants, he eſpouſed the cauſe of the national intereſt, as it appeared to him, with a becoming warmth. The decay of this branch of commerce was obvious, but the cauſes of it were not univerſally underſtood, though it had been ſo much canvaſſed not long before [c].

The deſire to vindicate our own acts is natural to us, and where private advantage and inclination interfere with the public intereſt, the lat-

[b] HOLLAND and SWEDEN in particular, and from HOLLAND we export ſilver to RUSSIA, which conſtitutes part of the ballance of our trade with that country.

[c] See vol. I. chap. VIII.

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ter generally ſuffers. The TURKEY company became ſuſpected of partiality, but the complainants were ſubject to the ſame imputation: the latter urged that the conduct of that company was the only cauſe of the decay in queſtion, and that to make it intirely a free and open trade would be the beſt or only remedy to reſtore it. Upon enquiry into the circumſtances of the LEVANT traders, it was found that our annual imports of raw ſilk from all countries, except TURKEY, for 21 years, viz. from the year 1720 to 1740 incluſive, did not exceed 170,000 great pounds of 24 ounces, of which was brought from the EAST INDIES about 120,000

From ITALY —— —— —— —— — 30,000

From SPAIN, and other places in the MEDITERRANEAN — 20,000

But from TURKEY only, including the three following years, viz. from 1720 to 1743, of the ſame weight was yearly imported —— —— —— —— 206,000

The importation however decreaſed very faſt. In 5 years, from 1722 to 1726, the import from TURKEY was 1,472,491 ſmall pounds of 16 ounces, which amounts annually to great pounds —— —— — 196,000

But in 1737 to 1741, it was 659,519 ſmall pounds, which are great pounds annually only — — 88,336

Mohair yarn imported from TURKEY for the above 23 years, was yearly — — — — 200,000

Cotton wool for 20 years, as above, from the year 1721 to 1740, yearly — — — — 330,000

Cotton yarn for the ſaid 20 years — — 60,000

Thus at a moderate computation, viz. ſilk at 19 s. the great pound, cotton wool at 1 s. cotton yarn at 2 s. and mohair at 6 s.[d] deducting 15 per cent. for duties, freight and charges, which is alſo national profit, remains 236,470 l. There was alſo a conſiderable value in rhubarb, coffee and other drugs, to make up the annual amount of our imports.

The value of our woollens exported to TURKEY, together with tin, cochineal, and ſome lead, for the above 20 years, has been annually on-

[d] Raw AMERICAN cotton is at 20 d. mohair from TURKEY, according to the quality, is from 2 s. 6 d. to 12 s. the pound.

ly

ly, 180,000 l. From hence it appears what conſiderable advantages have been made by the LEVANT merchants, and how much it is an object worthy of the national protection; for if by exporting 180,000 l. for the moſt part in our wrought wool, the ſource from whence our riches are chiefly derived, we could have returns in unwrought commodities annually to the value of 236,470 l. how many thouſands of the induſtrious and moſt deſerving part of this nation would not ſuch a trade employ in a ſeries of years; and what an accumulation of wealth would it not produce! This conſideration ſhould awaken all our care, to adapt our cloth to the taſte of the TURKS, and indeed of every nation; and to be aſſiduous not only to preſerve the trade we already poſſeſs, but alſo to extend it, at the ſame time as we guard againſt the conſequences of the induſtry and application of thoſe who are already come in for a large ſhare of this commerce.

The ſtate in which ſeveral other nations have lived for ſome ages, ſeems to have ſoothed us into a notion that things will always remain in the ſame condition: this lulls us into a ſecurity with regard to their commercial enterprizes, and is the occaſion of our reluctance to believe any thing to their advantage. Can there be a greater proof of the rapidity with which a manufacture makes its progreſs, when encouraged by a powerful prince than is met with in FRANCE? In the year 1700 there were only 3000 pieces of cloths made in LANGUEDOC, but in 1740, the ſame province manufactured 80,000 pieces. It is very clear from the great progreſs of the FRENCH, that although GREAT BRITAIN abounds moſt in materials, ſkill and induſtry can bring other nations to rival, and, in ſome inſtances, even to excel us at ſome markets.

It is true, that the long and beſt ſort of wool was for ſome time full a guinea per tod of 29 lbs. which is above 20 per cent. more than the common price. The demand for our woollen manufactures both for ASIA and AMERICA, as well as in the ſeveral markets of EUROPE, has been alſo very great of late years, and probably will in ſome meaſure continue the ſame; however, every flow muſt naturally have its ebb, as the ſame experience evinces [c]. We ought not by any means to think we

[c] In 1752, coarſe woollens are fallen in price near 20 per cent.

are

are in no danger, whilſt our obſervation proves what other nations are able to perform. If our very ſucceſs argues the great importance of preſerving our manufactures, it is deeply incumbent upon us to keep the manufacturers to a juſt ſtandard: in this the intereſt of gentlemen who have large paſture lands is intimately concerned, as well as that of the trader, and indeed of the whole nation; we ought therefore to be watchful, not only to afford theſe manufactures on eaſy terms, but to improve and adapt them to every taſte: and upon this point, next to the materials, the conteſt will chiefly reſt. The peculiar advantages which ſome nations enjoy, can hardly ever be forfeited without their own faults: we have ſeen the complaint of the LEVANT traders, with regard to their cloth; the ſame complaint would have exiſted in the CASPIAN trade, had it continued; and it cannot be intirely from the connexion there is between the FRENCH and the POLANDERS, that the latter take of us only coarſe cloths; FRANCE and AIX LA CHAPPEL annually furniſh them with 100,000 l. value in cloth, which is inferior to ours in ſubſtance and duration, but its ſoftneſs, colour and lightneſs give it a preference in their eſteem. We are every day making new fabrics, and ſhew great art and fertility of invention in articles of leſs moment. No nation can make ſuch excellent cloth as this; why we do not employ our ſkill and induſtry to accommodate every taſte, and to come in for a ſhare at every market, whilſt our natural advantages ſecure ſome to us intirely, is what I do not comprehend, unleſs we are glutted with riches.

The complaints already mentioned prove how inconſiderate our clothiers are, who from a preſumption of being ſure of a demand regard only the preſent moment; and we generally find the quality of goods is inferior, in proportion as the demand is large: the conſequence is, that when the demand ſlackens, the manufacturer cannot be eaſily brought back to his proper ſtandard of work. Another matter of complaint is, that the exceſſes to which our common people are addicted, have increaſed the price of their labour beyond the due proportion of the value of proviſions, ſo that the clothier is tempted to increaſe his quantity rather than improve the quality of his goods. Theſe evils, though difficult

to

to cure, are certainly not irremediable; but the attention of the merchant, in conjunction with the legiſlature, may, in a great meaſure, prevent the pernicious conſequences.

As the world grows more enlightened, every country will make efforts to be independent: the conſequence muſt be, that the nation whoſe luxury at home raiſes the value of all its productions moſt, will have the leaſt foreign trade; and if at the ſame time it makes a great conſumption of foreign productions, it will certainly decline into poverty. If we learnt the art of parſimony in any tolerable degree, we ſhould fight our neighbours with a two-edged ſword.

It may be juſtly conſidered as one argument of the great opulency of this nation, that many artificers, mechanics, and even perſons of laborious profeſſions, have by their induſtry acquired great fortunes, and live in ſplendour; this is hardly to be found in any other nation. FRANCE, which is our great competitor, can hardly produce an inſtance of a dyer, packer, or other mechanic employed in preparing and finiſhing manufactories, who are arrived to ſuch a condition of life. The luxury in FRANCE does not appear to have yet reached to near the height as it is in ENGLAND, among the middling or laborious orders of the people; and whilſt they can procure the neceſſary parts of labour much cheaper than we do, they muſt conſequently have the advantage over us. But it is time to put an end to this digreſſion, and to return more immediately to the TURKEY trade.

What paſſed in the year 1718 [f], is a convincing proof that the company fell into miſtakes, through an impatient deſire of private gain, injurious to the national intereſt; nor is it ſo much to be wondered at as lamented; but it did not follow that the trade could, in the nature of things, be made free and open. On the contrary, there were ſeveral reaſons for the decay of the TURKEY trade, foreign to the excluſive privileges of the company: among many others which they aſſigned, was that of the heavy expence with which it was loaded; for it appeared by accounts

[f] See vol. I. p. 54.

from 1733 to 1740, that the ſums levied on the LEVANT company at CONSTANTINOPLE were no leſs than - - - - - - 214,074 dollars
At SMYRNA, for the ſame time - - - - - - - 57,628
At ALEPPO, for the ſame time - - - - - - - 80,065
Which, including extraordinary preſents, and reckoning the dollars at 3 s. comes to 8000 l. a year, which is about 4 per cent. upon their exports, a burthen which no EUROPEAN trade at this time can bear, and what had now involved the company in a heavy debt.

No man will doubt that every kingdom is rich, in proportion to the number and opulency of its inhabitants; is it not then the intereſt of the crown of GREAT BRITAIN, and of the whole nation to eaſe this branch of trade, and to ſupport the embaſſador in TURKEY, whoſe appointments are about half the ſum in queſtion? and would it not be for the dignity and advantage of the government, that the embaſſador ſhould not only appear as the king's ſervant, but have a fixt ſalary from the crown, at a court where regal power is ſo much reſpected? Certainly this circumſtance is worthy of more attention from the legiſlature than yet appears to have been beſtowed upon it. Among other minuter particulars which I have heard complained of there is this, that we have not any LAZARETTO at STANLEY CREEK, ſo that the cargoes are deprived of many conveniences in quarantain which other nations enjoy.

CHAP. XII.

Neceſſity of regulations in TURKEY. *Companies eſſential to ſome trades. The great benefits of the oriental trade. The* JEWS *refuſed admittance into the* TURKEY *trade. A bill propoſed for regulating the* LEVANT *trade.*

MOnopolies, or excluſive privileges, are generally ungrateful to the people of a free ſtate; it was therefore natural to thoſe who had not any perſonal knowledge abroad, nor experience at home, relating to the commerce of ASIA, to think that a total freedom in the TURKEY trade

trade would remove the evils under which it laboured: the difference between the CHRISTIAN and MOHOMMEDAN religions, alſo the various polities and cuſtoms, render it indiſpenſably neceſſary that our factors in TURKEY, ſhould be under ſubordination and reſtrictions: but this never could be the caſe, was the trade open as that of PORTUGAL or SPAIN: and though in the circumſtances of this declining trade, as great an indulgence ought to have been ſhewn to every ſubject, as the nature of the thing will admit; yet the intereſt of the company I do not conceive can be preſerved without an incorporated ſociety, who, by keeping their factors in due ſubordination abroad, will watch over the honour of the nation, as well as their own commercial intereſt.

The want of ſuch a ſociety in our CASPIAN trade, produced many ſad proofs of that diſcord which muſt threaten the ſubverſion of every eſtabliſhment of this nature. The RUSSIA merchants are but nominally a body corporate, compared with the LEVANT traders, and however good the inclinations of the former might be, they could not ſupport that œconomy which the nature of their circumſtances required. This, to all appearance, would be the caſe with the TURKEY company, was their trade left intirely open: indeed this muſt ever be the caſe, in proportion to the neceſſity there is of ſupporting good order abroad, as well as at home.

But this argument receives an additional force, with regard to countries where our military ſtrength is eſſential to the ſupport of our commerce. We have ſeen this verified lately in the AFRICAN trade, till the crown took the care and burthen of ſupporting the fortifications in that quarter of the world. It is true, ſome directors of companies in paſt times, have played ſo unfair a game, as will probably render their names odious; but this makes nothing againſt the general notion of companies, as eſſential to the conduct of certain trades, more than the evil adminiſtration of a miniſter does to government in general. There are, I know, ſeveral perſons of very eminent rank and authority in this country, who have contracted an invincible prejudice againſt trading companies; but they do not ſeem to diſtinguiſh the nature and circumſtances of the ſeveral branches

of trade, to which different kinds of œconomy are neceſſary, particularly in our ASIATIC commerce.

And now I have mentioned this ſubject, it may not be improper to obſerve, that the oriental trade is truly the miſtreſs and ſovereign of all others, and has been ſo for many ages. The PORTUGUEZE and the DUTCH laid the foundation of their power and reputation in this commerce: with regard to the BRITISH nation it ever muſt be of the higheſt moment, not only on account of the immediate advantages derived from it, but alſo to check the growing power of FRANCE and other nations in regard to their commercial intereſt in ASIA: it can be no diminution of the value of this trade, as ſome imagine, that many articles imported from thence, ſerve only to promote luxury; for upon the ſame principle GREAT BRITAIN may reject the fruit and wine of PORTUGAL and SPAIN with the ſugar and tobacco of AMERICA; and this would carry us into a ſpeculation foreign to the preſent conſtitution of the world, with regard to commerce in general.

When we conſider the great numbers of hands employed as mechanics as well as ſeamen, this trade appears to be an object of the higheſt national regard: nor is it any ſolid objection to the oriental trade, that it requires the exportation of a great quantity of ſilver; for the wealth of a nation is not to be computed from the quantity of gold and ſilver in it; OUR riches at leaſt conſiſt in the produce of the country, and the induſtry of the inhabitants: by theſe this nation is become great and powerful; by theſe we draw ſilver from MEXICO, and gold from BRAZIL in ſo ample a proportion; and even from EAST INDIA we have ſupplies of gold; ſo that in this courſe of circulation what detriment is it if we ſend a quantity of ſilver to ASIA? We are to conſider further the great advantages of exporting our woollen manufactures, and of importing from thence raw ſilk and raw cotton, which furniſh freſh employment to our people: we are to remember the uſeful commodities of other countries, which we receive in return for our INDIA goods, and the ballance in money: in a word, it may be aſſerted, that the advantages are too apparent to need any enumeration.

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As to the LEVANT trade, I can eaſily comprehend the force of the arguments which the TURKEY company uſed upon this occaſion, with regard to the danger of letting in all ſorts of people, and conſequently of taking off ſuch ſalutary reſtrictions as experience has proved to be neceſſary. It was not, I preſume, from an impatient deſire of power that the TURKEY traders rejected the meaſures propoſed: every nation trading to TURKEY makes and practices rules different from thoſe in uſe in their commerce with CHRISTIANS. The DUTCH [g], who are not in ſo good a condition in TURKEY as the ENGLISH, have, among others, one diſtinguiſhed regulation, which is, that no ſhip of leſs burthen than 300 tuns, and mounting 24 guns, ſhall go to TURKEY: and the FRENCH, whom I have already mentioned, ſupport the utmoſt uniformity of conduct in regard to this trade, both at home and abroad. The duty which our TURKEY company have taxed themſelves with at preſent, is 3 per cent. on goods conſigned to their own factors, and 5 per cent. if conſigned to the ſubjects of the GRAND SEIGNIOR; and none but a ſubject of GREAT BRITAIN and free of the company, can ſend any goods to that country; but that freedom may now be eaſily procured. The ENGLISH factors have hardly been known to make any difficulty in paying this duty, and if they do, the remedy is by diſtraining.

The power of determining diſputes between the BRITISH ſubjects in our factories abroad, is generally veſted in the BRITISH conſul, in a greater or leſſer degree, according to the difference of places; but this ſeems to be founded rather in the conſent of parties, than in any law of our conſtitution, ſo that appeals are often made to the national magiſtrates; whereas in TURKEY all differences are determined within ourſelves, and and generally brought to a ſpeedy deciſion.

It is a good maxim in commerce, to keep it as much as poſſible in its courſe, and not make alterations by way of experiment; but the ſickly ccondition of this trade demanded a more ſalutary regimen. In what proportion it had decayed in the five laſt years, with reſpect to raw ſilk, mo-

[g] They have however a conſul at SMYRNA and ALEPPO, and a miniſter at CONSTANTINOPLE, and, if they do not equal, come near us in point of intereſt in that country.

hair

hair and cloth, the following is an extract from the cuſtom-houſe, which was publiſhed upon this occaſion, viz.

Silk imported from TURKEY the five preceeding years.

	lbs.
1734	274,720$\frac{5}{12}$
1735	106,401
1736	227,976
1737	87,774
1738	168,634
	865,505$\frac{5}{12}$

Silk imported from TURKEY the laſt five years.

	lbs.
1739	170,391
1740	none
1741	324,175
1742	$\frac{2}{3}$
1743	138,308$\frac{1}{3}$
	632,877

Mohair yarn imported from TURKEY the five preceeding years.

	lbs.
1734	97,327
1735	none
1736	236,722
1737	241,179
1738	216,806
	792,034

Mohair yarn imported from TURKEY the laſt five years.

	lbs.
1739	49,388
1740	none
1741	152,146
1742	none
1743	208,699
	410,233

Cloth exported to TURKEY the five preceeding years.

	long cloths	ſhort cloths
1734	4,766$\frac{1}{3}$	500
1735	18,946$\frac{1}{2}$	3,150
1736	8,368	1,485
1737	11,463	2,182
1738	21,574$\frac{1}{2}$	1,664
	65,118$\frac{1}{3}$	8,981

Cloth exported to TURKEY the laſt five years.

	long cloths	ſhort cloths
1739	1,991$\frac{2}{3}$	660
1740	8,254	1,680$\frac{1}{2}$
1741	3,910	583
1742	5,168	2,222
1743	12,100	1,750
	31,423$\frac{2}{3}$	6,895$\frac{1}{2}$

A review

A review of this account could not but alarm the commercial part of the nation, and induce the legiſlature to take it ſeriouſly into their conſideration.

The JEWS now deſired to be admitted into a ſhare of the trade, and the demand of the generality of the people was for an open commerce, or a limitation of the charter granted to the TURKEY company: the JEWS were ſtrongly objected to, particularly by thoſe members of the company who had moſt experience in the trade. The conſideration of difference in religion among people ſubject to one common government, does not ſeem eſſential in commercial affairs, nor is it regarded much in our EUROPEAN trade; but the great influence they are ſuppoſed to have in ASIA, created an inſuperable difficulty to their admittance. It ſeemed natural to believe, that by admitting no other JEWS than thoſe of LONDON, and placing theſe under the ſame common reſtrictions as other ſubjects, that they would employ their power in favour of this nation, under whoſe government they are happy. It appeared however on this occaſion, as if they were doomed to be excluded on account of their religion, at leaſt it ſeemed a hard ſuppoſition, that EUROPEAN JEWS ſhould be at the bottom of all ſchemes againſt EUROPEAN trade with ASIA, as was then alledged. It was further objected, that the JEWS in CONSTANTINOPLE would promote a monopoly of the TURKEY commodities with the JEWS in ENGLAND, to the prejudice of the other ſubjects of this nation, and that the JEWISH factors abroad would underwork the CHRISTIANS: it was alſo urged, that the influence of the JEWS, ariſing from their great riches, would have too great a weight in the commercial ſcale. But was not this an acknowledgment that they were bold traders, poſſeſſed of large capitals, and would be contented with ſmall profits? if it was, and that the trade was really in danger of being loſt to this nation, were not theſe the very people who bid faireſt to rival the FRENCH? There was yet a further objection, that they might go to market to MARSEILLES for their cloths, and only bring their ſilk here: even this might be preferable to the loſs of the trade, for all commodities which we manufacture at home, are certainly great national benefits: but it was reaſonable

able to imagine, that the JEWS under the protection of the BRITISH crown, might be reſtrained to a ſubjection to BRITISH laws, as well in commerce as in civil ſociety in general.

It was however allowed, that the JEWS who reſide in TURKEY are, for the moſt part, an immoral people, and have by a kind of confederacy eſtabliſhed an exorbitant brokerage of 1 or more per cent. as it were by inheritance; and this reaſon, joined to others of the like nature, induced the FRENCH to ſtipitulate with the TURKS, that they might not be obliged to employ JEWS. The debate, which at this time ran high, was at length reduced to this iſſue, viz. whether the liberty of trading to TURKEY ſhould be granted to all his majeſty's ſubjects, or to all his chriſtian ſubjects only; and whether it ſhould be made an open trade, or continue excluſive under the reſtrictions the legiſlature might judge neceſſary. Upon this occaſion the following bill for enlarging and regulating the trade to the LEVANT ſeas was propoſed to the parliament.

"WHEREAS king JAMES the firſt by his letters patent, bearing date the "fourteenth day of December, in the third year of his reign, did grant "to ſeveral perſons therein named, and to their ſons, and ſuch others as ſhould "then after be admitted or made free, that they ſhould be one fellowſhip, and "one body corporate and politic, by the name of the governor and company of "merchants of ENGLAND, trading into the LEVANT ſeas, and by the ſame name "ſhould have perpetual ſucceſſion; and did direct, that all perſons, ſubjects of "this realm, being mere merchants, which then were, or after the date of the ſaid "letters patent, ſhould happen to be under the age of twenty-ſix years, or not out "of his or their apprenticeſhips, ſhould be admitted into the freedom of the ſaid "company, if he or they ſhould demand the ſame, within one year next after "he or they ſhould attain the age of twenty-ſix years, or within one year after the "end of his or their apprenticeſhips, and ſhould offer and pay to the ſaid governor "and company, for his or their admittance, the ſum of twenty-five pounds; and "did further direct, that all perſons, ſubjects of this realm of ENGLAND, being "mere merchants, above the age of twenty-ſix years, ſhould be admitted into "the freedom of the ſaid company, upon paying a fine of fifty pounds; and did "alſo direct, that all and every the ſons of ſuch as were or ſhould be free of the "ſaid company, and alſo all their apprentices employed in that trade, for the "ſpace of three years or upwards, within the limit of the ſaid letters patent,

"ſhould,

" ſhould, after the end of their apprenticeſhips, be admitted to the freedom of " the ſaid company, on payment of the ſum of twenty ſhillings only:

" And whereas king CHARLES the ſecond, by his letters patent, bearing date " the ſecond day of April, in the thirteenth year of his reign, did ratify and con- " firm the ſame letters patent of king JAMES the firſt; and did further direct, that " no perſon reſiding within twenty miles of the city of LONDON ſhould be admit- " ted into the freedom of the ſaid company, or have any benefit of the privileges " thereof, unleſs he be made free of the ſaid city.

" And whereas of late years the trade into the LEVANT ſeas has very much de- " creaſed; and the taking of leſs fines for the admiſſion of perſons into the free- " dom of the ſaid company, and not reſtraining the freedom thereof to mere " merchants, and ſuch perſons only who reſide within twenty miles of the city " of LONDON, as are free of the ſaid city, and the allowing perſons admitted into " the ſaid company to trade jointly or ſeparately, and to export all ſorts of goods " and merchandize of the growth, produce or manufacture of GREAT BRITAIN, " or the dominions thereof, or the EAST INDIES (not prohibited by law to be ex- " ported) to any port or place within the limits of the ſaid letters patent, from " what parts of GREAT RRITAIN, and at what time, and in what quantity, and " on board what ſhips (navigated according to law) they ſhall reſpectively think " proper; and alſo to import in the like manner, from any port or place within " the limits of the ſaid letters patent, raw ſilk, or any other goods or commodi- " ties purchaſed within the ſaid limits (not prohibited by law to be imported) by " barter, with woollen or other manufactures, goods or commodities exported " from GREAT BRITAIN, into any port or place within the limits of the ſaid let- " ters patent, gold or ſilver in coin or bullion excepted, or with the produce a- " riſing from the ſales of ſuch manufactures, goods or commodities ſo exported " as aforeſaid, are the moſt probable means to recover and extend the ſaid trade, " for the benefit of this nation:

" May it therefore pleaſe your moſt excellent majeſty, that it may be enacted, " that from and after the 24th day of June 1744, every ſubject of this realm, " deſiring admiſſion into the ſaid company of merchants of ENGLAND trading in- " to the LEVANT ſeas, commonly called or known by the name of the TURKEY " company, on requeſt in that behalf to be made to the governor or deputy go- " vernor, ſhall be admitted into the ſaid company, within the ſpace of twenty- " eight days after ſuch requeſt ſhall be made, and ſhall have, uſe and enjoy, all " the liberties, privileges, juriſdictions, franchiſes, powers and authorities, grant-

" ed to the ſaid company by the ſaid letters patent, as largely, fully and amply,
" too all intents, conſtructions and purpoſes, as any other member of the ſaid
" company could, can, or may have, uſe or enjoy the ſame, by virtue of the ſaid
" letters patent, ſuch ſubject paying for ſuch his admiſſion, for the uſe of the ſaid
" company, only the ſum of twenty pounds and no more, and taking the uſual
" oath of the freemen of the ſaid company, or being of the people called QUA-
" KERS, the affirmation.

" And be it further enacted, that from and after the ſaid 24th day of June
" 1744, the ſum of twenty pounds and no more, ſhall be demanded, taken or
" accepted, by the ſaid company, for any admiſſion to the freedom thereof; the
" ſaid letters patent, or any ſtatute, law, order, conſtitution or ordinance of
" the ſaid company, made or to be made to the contrary thereof in any wiſe
" notwithſtanding.

" And be it further enacted, that where any perſon or perſons reſiding in any
" out-port, or any other place within this realm, being ſubjects thereof, ſhall
" make requeſt to be admitted into the ſaid company, by his agent or deputy,
" making tender of twenty pounds for his admiſſion, the governor or deputy
" governor, ſhall, within twenty days after ſuch requeſt, appoint one or more
" perſon or perſons to admit ſuch perſon or perſons into the freedom of the ſaid
" company; and to adminiſter to him or them the oath to be taken by the free-
" men of the ſaid company, or being one of the people called QUAKERS, a ſo-
" lemn affirmation; which oath or affirmation he or they are hereby impowered
" to adminiſter; which admiſſion, and adminiſtration of the ſaid oath or affirma-
" tion, ſhall be as good and effectual, as if the ſame were actually done by the
" ſaid governor or deputy governor.

" And be it further enacted, that if any perſon, being a ſubject of this realm,
" ſhall, by himſelf or his agent, make requeſt to be admitted into the ſaid com-
" pany, and ſhall pay or tender, or cauſe to be paid or tendered, the ſum of
" twenty pounds for his admiſſion, as directed by this act, and he ſhall be refuſed
" to be admitted and made free of the ſaid company, contrary to the true in-
" tent and meaning of this act; every ſuch perſon being ſo refuſed, ſhall be from
" thenceforth deemed to be, and ſhall be, free of the ſaid company, and a mem-
" ber thereof, and ſhall enjoy the ſame liberties, privileges, juriſdictions, fran-
" chiſes, powers and authorities, in as full and ample a manner as any other
" member of the ſaid company doth or may enjoy any thing herein, or in the
" ſaid letters patent contained, or in any ſtatute, law, order, conſtitution, or ordi-
" nance

" nance of the ſaid company, made or to be made, to the contrary thereof in " any wiſe notwithſtanding.

" Provided always, that nothing herein contained ſhall extend, or be conſtru- " ed to extend, to oblige the ſons of ſuch perſon or perſons as are or ſhall be " free of the ſaid company, on or before the ſaid 24th day of June 1744, nor " any perſon or perſons, who are, or ſhall be, apprentices to any merchant or " merchants free of the ſaid company, on or before the ſaid 24th day of June " 1744, to pay any greater ſum for his or their admittance into the freedom of " the ſaid company, than the ſum of twenty ſhillings.

" And be it further enacted, that from and after the ſaid 24th day of June " 1744, all and every perſon or perſons being free, or to be made free, of the ſaid " company, may and ſhall ſeparately or jointly export, or cauſe to be exported, " out of GREAT BRITAIN, to any port or place within the limits of the ſaid let- " ters patent, in any BRITISH or plantation built ſhips navigated according to " law, at any time, to any perſon or perſons whatſoever, being ſubjects of this " realm and free of the ſaid company, or ſons or apprentices of freemen of the " ſaid company, ſo long as he or they ſhall continue to ſubmit to and remain " under the protection and direction of the BRITISH embaſſador and conſuls re- " ſpectively for the time being, and ſubject to the by-laws and regulations of " the ſaid company, and from any port or place in GREAT BRITAIN, as he or " they ſhall think proper, any goods, wares or merchandizes of the growth, pro- " duce or manufacture of GREAT BRITAIN, or the dominions thereof, or the EAST " INDIES, (not prohibited by law to be exported) and alſo to import in the like " manner, from any port or place within the limits of the ſaid letters patent, " from any perſon or perſons whatſoever, being ſubjects of this realm and free of " the ſaid company, or ſons or apprentices of freemen of the ſaid company, ſo " long as he or they ſhall continue to ſubmit to, and remain under the protecti- " on and direction of the BRITISH embaſſador and conſuls reſpectively for the " time being, and ſubject to the by-laws and regulations of the ſaid company, raw " ſilk, or any goods or commodities purchaſed within the ſaid limits: (not pro- " hibited by law to be exported) ſuch raw ſilk, goods or commodities, being pur- " chaſed by barter, with woollen or other manufactures, goods or commodities, " exported from GREAT BRITAIN into any port or place within the limits of the ſaid " letters patent, (gold or ſilver in coin or bullion excepted) or with the produce " ariſing from the ſales of ſuch manufactures, goods or commodities exported as " aforeſaid, or with the produce ariſing from the freights of ſuch ſhips, or from

" conſulage, or the commiſſion for factorage upon manufactures, goods or com-
" modities which have been or ſhall be exported from, and imported to GREAT
" BRITAIN, and not otherwiſe, upon paying and ſecuring the cuſtoms and other
" duties payable for the ſame, to his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, by any law
" now in force; and upon paying ſuch ſum or ſums of money as are or ſhall from
" time to time be adjudged requiſite and convenient for the common profit or ſuſ-
" tentation, or the neceſſary and reaſonable ſtipends, and other charges of the ſaid
" company, and are or ſhall be aſſeſſed on any goods, wares, or merchandizes, to
" be exported or imported as aforeſaid, or upon any ſhips laden with the ſame, by
" the greater part of any general court of the ſaid company; any ſtatute, law, or-
" der, conſtitution or ordinance of the ſaid company, made or to be made to the
" contrary thereof, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

" And be it further enacted, that from and after the 25th day of March 1745,
" every commander, maſter, or perſon having the charge of any ſhip or veſſel,
" on board of which any raw ſilk, goods or commodities purchaſed within the
" limits of the ſaid letters patent, ſhall be laden or ſhipped to be imported into
" this kingdom of GREAT BRITAIN, ſhall produce and deliver to the collector or
" comptroller, or other chief officer of the cuſtoms, at the port or place where
" ſuch ſhips ſhall be unladen at the time of making his report, a certificate or
" manifeſt under the hand and ſeal of the embaſſador, agent, reſident, conſul
" or vice-conſul for the time being, reſiding at the port or place, where ſuch raw
" ſilk, goods or commodities were laden or ſhipped, teſtifying that the perſon
" or perſons, to whom ſuch certificate or manifeſt is granted, had made oath, or,
" being one of the people called QUAKERS, had ſolemnly affirmed before him,
" that ſuch raw ſilk, goods or commodities, were truly purchaſed by barter with
" woollen goods or other manufactures, goods or commodities which had been
" exported from GREAT BRITAIN, or with the produce ariſing from the ſales or
" commiſſions for factorage of ſuch manufactures, goods or commodities; or
" from conſulage, or with the produce ariſing from the freight of ſuch ſhip or
" veſſel, or any other BRITISH or plantation-built ſhip or veſſel, which had been
" employed in the ſaid trade, to the beſt of his or their knowledge or belief;
" which oath or affirmation, the ſaid embaſſador, agent, reſident, conſul or vice-
" conſul reſpectively, is hereby authorized to adminiſter; and the ſaid comman-
" der, maſter, or perſon having the charge of any ſuch ſhip or veſſel, ſhall like-
" wiſe make oath, or, if he be one of the people called QUAKERS, ſolemnly af-
" firm before the ſaid collector, comptroller, or other chief officer of the cuſ-
" toms, at the time when he delivers ſuch certificate or manifeſt as aforeſaid, that

" ſuch

" ſuch raw ſilk, goods or commodities were truly ſhipped, or put on board, at " the port or place, as in the ſaid certificate or manifeſt is mentioned.

" And be it further enacted, that if any perſon ſhall falſely make any oath or " affirmation, by this act directed to be made, and ſhall thereof be legally con- " victed, ſuch perſon ſhall forfeit the ſum of one hundred pounds of lawful mo- " ney of GREAT BRITAIN, and be impriſoned for the ſpace of ſix months, and if " any perſon ſhall forge or counterfeit any certificate or manifeſt by this act direct- " ed, or ſhall publiſh ſuch certificate or manifeſt, knowing the ſame to be forged " or counterfeited, and be legally convicted thereof, ſuch perſon ſhall forfeit the " ſum of two hundred pounds of lawful money of GREAT BRITAIN, and be im- " priſoned for the ſpace of twelve months, and if any commander, maſter, or " perſon having the charge of any ſuch ſhip or veſſel ſhall land, or ſuffer or per- " mit to be landed, out of any ſuch ſhip or veſſel, in any port or place in GREAT " BRITAIN, any raw ſilk, goods or commodities laden or ſhipped in any port or " place within the limits of the ſaid letters patent, before he hath delivered " ſuch certificate or manifeſt, and made ſuch oath or ſolemn affirmation as afore- " ſaid, ſuch commander, maſter, or perſon, being legally convicted thereof, " ſhall forfeit and pay treble the value of ſuch raw ſilk, goods or commodities, " and all and every ſuch forfeiture or forfeitures aforementioned, ſhall be ſued " for, recovered and adjudged in any of his majeſty's courts of record in GREAT " BRITAIN, with full coſts of ſuit, by bill, plaint, information or action, where- " in no privilege, protection, wager of law, or more than one imparlance ſhall " be allowed, and one third part of all ſuch forfeiture or forfeitures ſo recover- " ed, ſhall go and be paid to his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, one other third " part to the governor and company of merchants of ENGLAND trading into the " LEVANT ſeas, and the other third part to him or them who ſhall inform and " ſue for the ſame.

" Provided always, that nothing herein contained ſhall extend, or be conſtru- " ed to extend, to authorize or impower any perſon or perſons, being free of " the ſaid company, to vote or give any voice or ſuffrage in the election, nomi- " nation, choice or appointment of any officers or miniſter employed, or to be " employed by the ſaid company, or in the change or removal of them, or any " of them, or in diſpoſing of the company's monies, unleſs ſuch perſon or per- " ſons hath or have in his own name, and for his own account, traded in the " ſaid company, ſo far as to pay forty ſhillings at the leaſt, in impoſitions to

" the

" the ſaid company, towards the public charges, within one year then next, before " ſuch vote, voice or ſuffrage is to be given.

" And be it further enacted, that the ſaid governor or deputy-governor, ſhall, " and are hereby required to call a general court as often as requeſt ſhall be " made to the ſaid governor or deputy-governor, in that behalf, by writing " under the hands of any ſeven or more of the members of the ſaid company, " within ten days after ſuch requeſt ſhall be made, as aforeſaid; any thing in " the before-recited letters patent, or any ſtatute, law, order, conſtitution or or- " dinance of the ſaid company, to the contrary thereof, in any wiſe notwith- " ſtanding."

This bill, after paſſing the commons, was thrown out of the houſe of lords by a majority of three: it muſt be obſerved however, as the caſe ſtands, the trade does not ſeem to ſuffer any inconvenience from the excluſive privilege of the TURKEY company, as admittance is given for 20 l. but it does appear even at this time [h], that to one ſhip which we have in the TURKEY trade, the FRENCH have ten; and unleſs we ſhould have a ſucceſsful naval war, we ſhall hardly be able to exceed even this proportion; it may be well if we do not yet looſe ground.

CHAP. XIII.

Freſh difficulties with relation to the CASPIAN *trade. The merchants petition his majeſty. The king's letter to* SHAH NADIR *upon this occaſion. The* SHAH'S *decree in relation to* JOHN ELTON.

TO return to what concerns the CASPIAN trade, it ſeemed impracticable to induce Mr. ELTON to leave PERSIA; on the contrary he continued to purſue his deſign. He had ſurmounted ſo many difficulties, that it was hard to ſay whether he was a greater object of hatred or admiration to the RUSSIANS: but certain it is he compleated one veſſel intended to mount 20 three-pounders, which is of greater force than the RUSSIANS ever navigated on the CASPIAN: this being a royal ſhip, the perſon who had the charge of her thought proper to require naval honours of the RUSSIAN merchant ſhips on the PERSIAN coaſt; ſeveral o-

[h] 1752.

ther

ther complaints were ſent to court, ſome falſe, and others of a trifling nature; the great object was the PERSIAN ſhip already afloat, and the other veſſels on the ſtocks, which they apprehended might ſoon be equipped. The cloud which had hung over us for ſome time, now grew darker; but our vexation did not ariſe only from the diſguſt of the RUSSIANS, for the prohibition of correſpondency with Mr. ELTON, occaſioned his arreſting a large quantity of goods brought by the new factors, meſſieurs PRESTON and THOMPSON, on a claim of commiſſion due on them. This cauſed an alarm among the merchants in LONDON, who immediately applied to the king: his majeſty, with his wonted humanity and tenderneſs, ſhewed a particular readineſs to oblige the RUSSIA company, by writing to NADIR SHAH about the beginning of 1746. The king's letter was as follows:

"GEORGE THE SECOND, by the grace of almighty God creator of "heaven and earth, king of GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE and IRE-"LAND, the moſt invincible and moſt mighty defender of the chriſ-"tian faith, &c. The moſt high exalted PRINCE in ample honour and "dignity ſends kind ſalutations, with wiſhes of health and true hap-"pineſs.

"Moſt noble and moſt mighty prince,

"THE governor and company of our royal merchants trading to "RUSSIA, and through RUSSIA to PERSIA, having repreſented to "us that JOHN ELTON, whom we recommended to your ſerenity by our "royal letter of the 7th of February in the year of our lord 1743-4, "had by his management almoſt ruined the trade of our ſubjects to your "ſerenity's dominions, though it is of great advantage to our reſpective "kingdoms, and that there was remaining a conſiderable ballance due "to our merchants; and the company having determined not to employ "JOHN ELTON in their ſervice, have beſought us to recommend to your "protection their new factors, MARTIN KYCK VAN MIEROP, CHARLES "GEORGE PRESTON, CHARLES THOMPSON, and RICHARD WILDER, as "our favoured ſubjects and merchants; and alſo that your ſerenity would "command that JOHN ELTON do immediately ſettle and adjuſt with the

"ſ[illegible]

" ſaid factors the accounts and demands depending, by paying the bal-
" lance, and delivering to them ſuch goods as remain in his hands be-
" longing to our company of merchants not diſpoſed of. We have
" thought fit to acquaint your ſerenity therewith, and deſire that you
" will favour our merchants with your royal countenance and protection,
" not doubting but that your ſerenity will, upon the receipt of this our
" royal letter, cauſe juſtice to be done to our company and merchants,
" by ordering JOHN ELTON to ſettle the accounts depending between our
" merchants and him; to pay the ballance that ſhall appear to be due
" to the new factors hereby recommended to your ſerenity, and to deli-
" ver to them ſuch goods belonging to the company's trading members
" as may remain in his hands.

" As juſtice is the glory of princes, we can make no doubt of your
" ſerenity's ready compliance with this our requeſt, ſince the trade car-
" rying on by our ſubjects in PERSIA tends ſo highly to the advantage
" of both nations, and requires particular marks of your favour and ſup-
" port. We hope that as our merchants are ſtrangers in your empire,
" and place their entire dependance in your royal favour and protection,
" your ſerenity will hear them favourably, and redreſs any grievances
" they may now repreſent, or may at any time hereafter have juſt cauſe
" to lay before you. We cannot conclude without congratulating your
" ſerenity upon the glorious ſucceſs of your invincible arms, and repeat-
" ing our wiſhes of health and true happineſs to your ſenerity and your
" royal family. Given at our court at St. JAMES's."

Mr. ELTON had in the interim petitioned as complainant, and obtained the following decree from NADIR SHAH.

" IN the name of the exalted God; it is the imperial command, that
" the magnificent ACHMED BEG, KURYSAUL BASHI of our high
" court, the noble MYRZA MAHOMMED ZEKIE, and alſo the great MA-
" HOMMED KHAN BEG, who by the ſovereign favour is governor of
" GHILAN, do KNOW, that GEMAL BEG has by a petition repreſented,
" that according to a contract he has made with certain of his partners,

" who

" who are now in ENGLAND, whatever goods or merchandize they might " at any time ſend from ENGLAND, upon their arrival in GHILAN they " ſhould be opened in his preſence, and 9 per cent. on their value ſhould " be paid to him: and whereas the officers of the RUSSIAN ſtate have pro- " hibited the merchandize to be brought before him, and the 9 per cent. " to be paid; he requeſts that the people belonging to his partners lately " arrived in GHILAN ſhould without pro or con pay to him this proportion.

" But whereas theſe people who have brought goods and merchandize " hither, are ſtrangers, and are come to this country on account of trade, " and the proprietors not being preſent, we cannot abſolutely determine " this matter; therefore our royal decree is, that you ſummon GEMAL " BEG and his partners, and hear and ſettle their affairs according to law " and juſtice: let no hurt be done to him, nor at the ſame time any me- " thod taken that may be injurious to the perſons ſent by the ſaid mer- " chants. Know this to be our pleaſure, and conform thereto. Dated " the laſt day of the month SHEUAL in the year 1158."

It appeared from hence that ELTON had advanced the moſt palpable and abſurd falſities, in aſſurance of ſucceſs, founded in his intereſt with the SHAH: his judges alſo had no abilities to enter into the merits of the caſe, nor honeſty enough to determine according to equity. After many circumſtances too tedious to enumerate, the decree produced the delivery of the 42 bales of goods which ELTON had arreſted. As for the accounts of former tranſactions and effects, he adjudged them as he pleaſed, and did much leſs injuſtice than he might have done; for he made returns in part to thoſe to whom he was moſt deeply indebted.

CHAP. XIV.

The RUSSIAN *court prohibits the* BRITISH CASPIAN *trade. The decree of the empreſs of* RUSSIA *on this occaſion. The author's remarks on the letters of the* RUSSIAN *conſul, on which the decree was founded.*

THE ſcene now began to cloſe: the RUSSIAN miniſtry being perſuaded that Mr. ELTON's conduct was of a dangerous tendency, the EMPRESS publiſhed a decree in November 1746, of which the following is a tranſlation.

The decree of the empreſs of RUSSIA, interdicting the BRITISH trade over the CASPIAN ſea.

" THE embaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary reſiding here on
" the part of his majeſty the king of GREAT BRITAIN, cannot be
" ignorant in what manner the empire of RUSSIA has endeavoured to cul-
" tivate and augment the friendſhip long ſubſiſting with his majeſty,
" particularly by the treaty of commerce concluded between the two
" crowns in the year 1734, which was renewed in the year 1742, at the
" concluſion of the happy alliance. Her imperial majeſty was deſirous
" to ſhew her good-will, by granting not only a free commerce to the
" BRITISH merchants with her ſubjects over the whole empire without
" any obſtruction, but alſo through her dominions into PERSIA, which
" till then had never been granted. As a proof of her imperial majeſty's
" affection to the BRITISH nation, in excluſion of all others, the duties
" were mitigated, and many other privileges and immunities were agreed
" to, that the trade to PERSIA might be the more eaſily conducted. It
" is not neceſſary to mention the advantages granted to the merchants
" concerned in that trade, the treaty of commerce ſufficiently ſhows
" them.

" Theſe privileges have been ſince augmented, for, at the requeſt of
" the BRITISH merchants, a permiſſion was given them to have their
" own ſhips on the CASPIAN ſea, though this is not mentioned in the
" treaty: but theſe indulgences have given room to entertain ſome ill-de-

" ſigning

" ſigning perſons on the PERSIAN coaſt, who have ſhown themſelves " diſaffected to the empire, and have openly acted againſt the intereſt of it. " The perſon who has given occaſion to this unexcepted proceeding, is " the well-known ELTON, who formerly was in this ſervice as captain " in the ORENBURG expedition; and after his diſmiſſion from it, when " the BRITISH merchants began to navigate the CASPIAN in their own " ſhips, he was engaged by thoſe merchants, and ſent with their ſhips " to PERSIA, where he was appointed their agent. The firſt ſtep " which ELTON took was detrimental to the RUSSIAN conſul and mer- " chants, for inſtead of an amicable intercourſe with them, he fomented " animoſities. Secondly, he treated with great inhumanity the RUSSIAN " mariners who were hired on board the ENGLISH ſhips, and refuſed to " pay them the full wages he had agreed for. Thirdly, he carried with " him contraband goods and materials in the ſaid ſhips, from ASTRA- " CHAN. Fourthly, and what is the worſt of all, he gave himſelf into " PERSIAN protection, engaged in that ſervice, inſinuated ſeveral projects " to the PERSIANS, and introduced ſome arts hitherto not known a- " mongſt them, to the great detriment of this empire.

" His excellency the embaſſador may thus plainly ſee how RUSSIA has " been rewarded for her indulgence granted to the BRITISH nation by " ſuch an advantageous treaty. Notwithſtanding all theſe circumſtances, " the greateſt moderation has been uſed on her part, in hopes that mat- " ters would be rectified. To this end, in the year 1743, the miniſter " and plenipotentiary Mr. WYCH, then reſiding here, was acquainted with " ELTON'S conduct; the RUSSIAN miniſter at LONDON, KNEZ SHEBBA- " TOVE, was alſo informed of the ſame, and his inſtructions concerning " them were often repeated: he repreſented theſe complaints againſt EL- " TON in the ſtrongeſt manner, inſiſting that he ſhould not only be re- " called from PERSIA, but obliged to make ſatisfaction for the exceſſes " he had committed: moreover, that this trade to PERSIA could not be " underſtood to exiſt, but as it might be carried on agreeably to the regu- " lations made here concerning it, and without prejudicing the ſubjects " of this empire: for as the trade was allowed out of mere good-will to

" the ENGLISH, and ſo many valuable privileges granted to their mer-
" chants, it is not natural that it ſhould be ſuffered, contrary to the in-
" tereſt of the empire.

" RUSSIA at length ſees herſelf obliged to guard againſt ſuch injurious
" practices, by taking ſuch meaſures as are abſolutely neceſſary for the
" preſervation of her intereſt. In conſequence of the many repeated
" complaints made on this head by the RUSSIAN miniſter at LONDON;
" lord TYRAWLEY, the embaſſador then reſiding here, gave in anſwer to
" this miniſtry, a memorial dated the 4th December 1744, ſetting forth,
" that his majeſty had ordered the merchants of the ENGLISH company
" trading to PERSIA, not to conſign any more of their goods to ELTON,
" and to forbid his being any ways concerned in that company: alſo that
" the merchants of their own accord would allow ELTON a penſion of
" 2000 rubles per annum during life, on condition of his returning from
" PERSIA to ENGLAND, and that the king, upon ELTON's arrival in
" ENGLAND, would grant him a poſt in the navy; concluding with a
" requeſt for a ſufficient paſſport for him to travel through RUSSIA into
" ENGLAND: the ſaid paſſport was granted, and delivered to the embaſ-
" ſador at MOSCO, and immediately ſent into PERSIA, together with let-
" ters from the ENGLISH company to ELTON, and they were ſafely de-
" livered to him by the RUSSIAN conſul in PERSIA. But all this had no
" effect; on the contrary, advices are ſince arrived from PERSIA, both
" from the RUSSIAN reſident and the conſul in that country, that ELTON
" was not only unwilling to go from thence, but had evaded lord TYRAW-
" LEY's order, alledging that this order was given out at the ſame time
" as the king of GREAT BRITAIN ſent his recommendatory letter to the
" PERSIAN SHAH, relating to the ENGLISH merchants trading in that
" country; and that he had the SHAH's orders to take all ENGLISH mer-
" chants and factors under his protection.

" If this be fact, it has certainly encouraged ELTON to prolong his a-
" bode in PERSIA; to puſh on the projects he has brought on the car-
" pet; and to carry them into execution, to the great loſs and detriment of
" this empire. The RUSSIAN ſubjects reſiding in that country alſo com-
" plain

" plain that BLAIR, BROWN, and other ENGLISHMEN who have left that " country, have been concerned in theſe projects: and laſtly, that PRES- " TON and others, who ſtill remain there, have been inſtrumental to the " ſame end. And theſe proceedings are ſtill carried on with the ſame ill " temper, of which the conſul, general WOLFF, was acquainted in 1745; " but ſince that time many more exorbitances have been committed, " which can be clearly proved.

" Not to mention the diſorder and damage which ELTON, in con- " junction with the PERSIANS, has created to the RUSSIAN merchants; " his injurious deſigns have ſucceeded in part, and he is indefatigable in " projecting new ones. To connive at theſe proceedings any longer, will " be of very dangerous conſequence.

" All theſe vexations and inconveniencies ariſe from the trade this em- " pire has permitted the BRITISH nation to carry on, and which never " was granted to any nation before; and things being now come to this " extremity, our patience and moderation can hold out no longer. No- " body can in juſtice blame us to look back at the many complaints made " to his BRITANNIC majeſty's court at LONDON, and the hopes we en- " tertained that proper meaſures would be taken to redreſs the grievances " complained of: but it is now plain, that no other remedy is left than " that RUSSIA ſhall immediately put a ſtop to the trade: her imperial " majeſty's intereſt, and the ſecurity of her empire obliges her to lay hold " of the ſtrongeſt, readieſt, and moſt effectual method for this purpoſe.

" In conſideration however of the great friendſhip which her imperial " majeſty has always entertained for his majeſty the king of GREAT BRI- " TAIN, ſhe wiſhes ſincerely to maintain the treaty of commerce con- " cluded with his majeſty, in its whole extent, ſacred and inviolable, " without any alteration or abridgment, and to fulfil it in every reſpect " to the end of the term ſtipulated; but there is now an abſolute neceſſi- " ty, not only to make an alteration in the trade permitted to the ENG- " LISH nation to PERSIA, but to break it off intirely.

" There-

" Therefore, in conſequence of her imperial majeſty's gracious order, " the ſame is made known to all thoſe whom it may concern, and by " theſe preſents to his excellency lord HINDFORD, the embaſſador extra- " ordinary, to the end that he may be pleaſed to acquaint his court " therewith; and at the ſame time to aſſure his majeſty in the ſtrongeſt " manner, that her imperial majeſty has been obliged to take this reſo- " lution againſt her inclination: in all other caſes her imperial majeſty " will ever give the ſtrongeſt marks of her friendſhip to the king and " nation of GREAT BRITAIN; and will endeavour by every means to in- " creaſe it. And to prevent all obſtructions to the ſincere intentions which " her imperial majeſty has of maintaining a ſtrict friendſhip and harmo- " ny between the two courts and nations; it is now become neceſſary " to put a ſtop to the evil practices of ELTON and his confederates, the " other ſubjects of GREAT BRITAIN, now in PERSIA.

" Her imperial majeſty is ſo far convinced of the friendſhip of the king " of GREAT BRITAIN, that ſhe expects his majeſty will neither approve " nor ſuffer thoſe people to remain in PERSIA, but order, in the ſtricteſt " manner, that ELTON, together with the ENGLISH ſubjects there with " him, ſhall without fail, as ſoon as poſſible, remove from thence and " return to ENGLAND. May it alſo pleaſe the embaſſador to acquaint " the ENGLISH merchants and members of the company trading to PER- " SIA, and reſiding in St. PETERSBURG, and in due time alſo thoſe at " ASTRACHAN, that they ſhall not only forbear ſending any more goods " to PERSIA, but uſe all their endeavours to ſettle and liquidate their ac- " counts with the ſubjects of PERSIA, and make the neceſſary prepara- " tions to withdraw their effects and ſervants without delay.

" St. PETERSBURG, November 1746, ſigned

G. A. BESTUCHEFF RUMIN.

C. NICH. WORONZOFF."

It was in vain for the merchants to complain of this edict, but in a national way it became the duty of the BRITISH miniſter to remonſtrate againſt the violation of the treaty of commerce. My lord HINDFORD, his majeſty's embaſſador, knowing that I had been in PERSIA, deſired me

to

to give in writing what I had to ſay in regard to the vindication of the BRITISH ſubjects. I complied the more readily with my lord's requeſt, from the perſonal knowledge I had of the RUSSIAN conſul, on whoſe letters great part of the complaints mentioned in this decree were founded. The reader will judge of the conduct and genius of this man, who from a common ſecretary and interpreter, did not content himſelf with leſs than ten led horſes to make his public entrance into RESHD, as the EMPRESS's conſul. He was born at CONSTANTINOPLE, and had contracted an inclination to the cuſtoms of ASIA: finding our trade ungrateful to his court, and unprofitable to himſelf, he over-acted his part, and was impatient till he had ſeen an end of it, which ſerved to inflame the reſentment of the court. He did not ſtop there, for his conduct expoſed him to the complaints and reſentments of the RUSSIAN merchants alſo, who, in leſs than two years afterwards, obtained his recal and diſgrace.

By the following articles of defence it will be eaſy to judge of the nature of theſe complaints, which are mentioned in the decree in more general terms.

St. PETERSBURG, November 1746.

Remarks on ſeveral letters wrote in 1744, 1745, and 1746, by the RUSSIAN conſul to his court.

I. I obſerve that the conſul has a moſt extraordinary way of exaggerating; for it ſeems abſurd that Mr. ELTON ſhould attempt to hide what all the world might ſee, or to ſuppoſe the carpenters and ſeamen were his privy counſellors in ſecret affairs.

II. Whether Mr. ELTON is puſhed on by his ambition or not, he may by his natural induſtry in a country where no pleaſures can take off his attention, make ſome improvements.

III. 'Tis no unuſual thing for the SHAH to flatter a man one day, and put him to death the next. I believe that NADIR's decrees, in relation to his marine, promiſe ELTON to protect him againſt his enemies; but I do not ſee that any concluſion can be drawn from thence to the prejudice of the RUSSIAN ſtate.

IV.

IV. 'Tis poſſible RUSSIA in time may ſuffer damage, if the PERSIANS build any ſhips; but I much doubt if ſuch ſhips can or will long exiſt: if ELTON had gone into GHILAN by way of GAMBROON or TURKEY, or found his way through RUSSIA, with a deſign of building ſhips, and without any employment from the ENGLISH merchants, could the ENGLISH trade in ſuch caſe be made accountable for the conduct of a private man, who acts thus in a circumſtance foreign to trade?

V. Notwithſtanding the reports of the conſul, I am morally certain, that the ENGLISH merchants and factors in general, or BROWN and PRESTON in particular, are not concerned in ſupporting ELTON, nor have any intereſt in the ſucceſs of his ſchemes.

VI. 'Tis not to be imagined that ELTON builds ſhips for ſhew only; their being employed in carrying proviſions in the manner which the conſul mentions, ought not to be imputed to reſentment, but conſidered as a natural conſequence of their being built.

VII. In the ſummer 1745, Mr. JAMES BROWN carried with him to the PERSIAN camp, the king's letter to NADIR SHAH, dated February 2, 1744, deſiring that juſtice might be done to his ſubjects; in conſequence whereof, after great ſolicitation, Mr. BROWN obtained a decree for the payment of the money due to him from the provinces and governor in GHILAN; but nothing is more falſe and abſurd, than that Mr. BROWN deſired on that occaſion to put himſelf under ELTON's protection. 'Tis notorious, by volumes of correſpondence, that Mr. BROWN always avoided all ſort of connexion with ELTON; nor in matters of trade had ELTON any ſort of authority or preference which might create a dependance. As to Mr. BROWN's being ready to die in defence of ELTON's honour, I do not ſuppoſe the conſul is ſerious; nor can I comprehend what he means by power given to ELTON over the other factors. But the conſul's aſſertions are agreeable to that conduct which he has always obſerved towards us, rather provoking ELTON than endeavouring to bring him off from his purſuits.

VIII. How unfair and inconcluſive are the conſul's reaſonings! becauſe the merchants have not been ſucceſsful in the repeal of ELTON, therefore they have not been ſincere; and therefore they are yet allowing him

him a penſion as the founder of the trade, while it is obvious that the meaſures which ELTON was purſuing, threatened the deſtruction of the trade. The conſul inſinuates that the ENGLISH would not make any figure in PERSIA but by ELTON's means: he is ignorant what figure our EAST INDIA company makes, and has made there; and what figure we make in every quarter of the world where our merchants carry on their commerce by ſea.

IX. The conſul has artfully played one BRITISH houſe againſt the other, with a view to ruin both. His conduct towards us has been calculated to deſtroy that harmony which might have exiſted between the other BRITISH factors and the RUSSIANS, whatever conſequences Mr. ELTON's conduct might have produced.

X. The RUSSIANS have formerly run old ſhips aſhore on the weſtern coaſt of the CASPIAN, with a view to break them up and ſell the wood, fuel being extremely ſcarce in thoſe parts; by this means the PERSIANS got as much timber as would build a new veſſel: but what is this to the purpoſe, unleſs the conſul would make us accountable for the conduct of the RUSSIAN ſubjects, as well as for ELTON's?

XI. If ELTON in the advice he gives the PERSIANS is ſteady and conſiſtent, it is for his own purpoſes, and not for thoſe of the trade. The matter therefore I apprehend is reduced to this point, whether the whole BRITISH nation is accountable to the RUSSIAN government for the conduct of one private perſon in PERSIA?

XII. I grant it was injudicious in ELTON to make the RUSSIAN ſhip ſtrike to the PERSIAN. When I was on the CASPIAN we always paid the compliment to the RUSSIAN flag, thereby acknowledging the ſovereignty of the EMPRESS.

XIII. As to the illegal commerce complained of, I have heard of a quantity of bar tin, which has been ſince reputed contraband, but it was not then included in the contraband articles, and was actually entered for PERSIA, and paſſed ASTRACHAN in a regular open manner.

XIV. I am morally certain that the RUSSIAN ſeamen were not ill treated; but, on the contrary, uſed with greater humanity than in their own ſhips.

The concluſion (article XV.) is, I think, extremely abſurd: a report may be certain in the conſul's ſenſe; that is, it may be certain there is a report, when the thing reported is falſe, as this muſt needs be concerning the ENGLISH merchants ſettling a penſion on ELTON to ſupport him in PERSIA, inſtead of bringing him home from thence; and I humbly preſume it would be very hard if a ſimple hear-ſay ſhould be made a reaſon ſufficient to annul an article in a treaty ſubſiſting between two crowns.

CHAP. XV.

Reflections on the foregoing tranſactions. Propoſal made by the RUSSIA *company, to exchange the* EUROPEAN *goods in* PERSIA *for raw ſilk already in* RUSSIA. *Danger of the company's effects in* PERSIA. *Letter upon the ſame ſubject. The* BRITISH *embaſſador obtains orders for a ſhip, to ſecure the effects of the* CASPIAN *traders. Letter upon this occaſion from the factors in St.* PETERSBURG *to the factors in* GHILAN.

THE prohibition of our trade was no matter of ſurprize to me, neither did I think it any great loſs to the nation; having from a long and painful experience received very diſadvantageous impreſſions of it. However, whilſt there was any hopes of preſerving it, I acted my part in the whole affair with the utmoſt aſſiduity and attention. It was apparent, from the ſituation of RUSSIA with regard to PERSIA at that time; from ELTON's raſhneſs; and the jealous diſpoſition of the RUSSIANS in general, that this trade was an unavoidable object of offence: the reader will alſo obſerve from the ſeveral facts related in my journal, that notwithſtanding the reputed ſecurity of conveyance through the RUSSIAN dominions, great part of the way is expoſed to the incurſions of the TARTARS, and to the plunder of the RUSSIAN pirates on the VOLGA. Should foreign wars draw off the forces, or occaſion any great diminution of the garriſons in thoſe parts, the road could not be long ſafe: few years have paſſed without ſome particular accident; but we had to fear the ill deſigns of ſecret as well as open enemies; for whatever advantages might have been derived to the BRITISH or RUSSIAN nation at large, neither the

ARME-

ARMENIAN nor RUSSIAN merchants could ever be intirely reconciled to us, whilſt we received any conſiderable profit from it. Our buſineſs therefore was to make as good a retreat as poſſible.

HAHDGEE SEFFIE, the SHAH's merchant, whom I have already mentioned; after ſpending near a whole year in ASTRACHAN, at length arrived in MOSCO with about 200 bales of ſilk. It was natural to ſuppoſe, that his buſineſs was to make as ſpeedy a return to his maſter as poſſible: therefore ſeveral members of the RUSSIA company, who had a glut of goods in PERSIA, could not but graſp at the leaſt intimation of bartering them againſt raw ſilk in RUSSIA. The correſpondence I had on this ſubject with one of my private employers, gave birth to a reſolution of all the CASPIAN traders, in conſequence whereof the following letter was addreſſed to the BRITISH conſul.

" SIR, St. PETERSBURG, February 25, 1747.

" THE CASPIAN traders in LONDON having great quantities of ef-
" fects in GHILAN, which cannot be ſold yet for a conſiderable
" time, deſire to barter them againſt raw ſilk now in RUSSIA. As the
" memorial prohibiting the BRITISH CASPIAN trade expreſſes an earneſt
" deſire that the ſame ſhould be finiſhed with all poſſible diſpatch, we
" beg you will ſolicit a permiſſion for the purpoſe above mentioned.
" The SHAH's commiſſary, HAHDGEE SEFFIE, being now in MOSCO with
" 200 bales of raw ſilk, and the RUSSIAN merchants not diſpoſed to
" buy them on the terms demanded, we propoſe to make a barter with
" the commiſſary in behalf of our principals, whoſe orders we have re-
" ceived for that purpoſe: and in caſe the ſame is brought to effect, we
" will, upon the exportation of the raw ſilk from hence, pay to her im-
" perial majeſty's cuſtom-houſe, the uſual duty of 3 per cent. in dollars,
" on a valuation of 52 rubles per pood, the ſame as we pay at ASTRA-
" CHAN on our own imports. This we preſume will be agreeable to the
" RUSSIAN merchants of MOSCO, and a ſingular benefit to the BRITISH
" merchants who are inclined to make this barter, and at the ſame time
" will greatly facilitate a compliance with her imperial majeſty's decree:

" therefore we hope a permiſſion will be granted us without loſs of time, " in order that we may treat with the commiſſary.

" We are, SIR, &c."

However reaſonable and conſiſtent this propoſition may appear, it was not reliſhed; on the contrary, many objections were ſtarted. If the affair had been opened to the HAHDGEE, and he had conſented to this barter, it would not have agreed with the plan which the court ſeemed to have laid down; for this new commercial ſcheme of NADIR SHAH was as ungrateful to the RUSSIAN government, as ELTON's naval atchievements; and we had no hopes of any indulgence whilſt the name of ELTON remained. It is alſo probable, that the RUSSIAN miniſtry foreſaw the impending revolutions in PERSIA, and that they might have occaſion to arreſt the effects of the HAHDGEE, to indemnify the RUSSIAN ſubjects for loſſes they might ſuſtain by plunder in that country; for this really happened not long after, and part of thoſe effects were arreſted accordingly.

Reports already prevailed, that freſh rebellions were formed in PERSIA, and the experience I had bought in that country alarmed my jealouſy; for it was but too evident, that the PERSIANS were continually revolting, in ſpite of that prodigious ſucceſs which had attended NADIR's arms, and in defiance of thoſe acts of cruelty with which their rebellions had been puniſhed. Thus the CASPIAN trade was indeed a trade militant, and attended with all the fears and cares of war; but as we were ſo far advanced in it, it behoved us to make as good a retreat as poſſible, eſpecially as the RUSSIANS would not permit us to continue it any longer.

At this time[1] there was a report that the RUSSIAN merchants and ſubjects had quitted PERSIA; this was not unlikely, for the declining age of the SHAH, the rebellions in KHERMAN and GEORGIA, together with the univerſal miſery and oppreſſion which reigned throughout that kingdom, might be a ſufficient inducement for them to retire to their own country. Theſe conſiderations made great impreſſions on us, and this produced the following letter from our factors to his majeſty's conſul.

[1] June 1747.

" SIR,

"SIR, St. PETERSBURG, July 24, 1747.

"ACcording to the reports which now prevail, many of the provinces in PERSIA are revolted: we have reaſon to apprehend that "GHILAN will follow the example, and the effects of our principals in "RESHD may be involved in the general confuſion. We therefore entreat that you will obtain permiſſion of the RUSSIAN government, for "the BRITISH factors in GHILAN to ſhip off for ASTRACHAN the cloth "and all other effects under their care, in caſe their apprehenſions of "imminent danger from a rebellion, or other reaſons which the neceſſity "of the times may ſuggeſt, ſhould determine thoſe factors to take this "means for the ſecurity of their perſons and effects.

"For this end it is neceſſary that orders be ſent to ASTRACHAN and "GHILAN, that theſe factors be aſſiſted with one or two good RUSSIAN "ſhips, paying the freight thereof; and that all poſſible protection be "afforded them on the parts of the RUSSIAN embaſſador, governor, conſul, &c. both in GHILAN and ASTRACHAN, till ſuch time as they ſhall "find it ſafe to return to GHILAN, to finiſh the ſale of their remaining "effects. Delays may be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences, nor will the caſe admit of waiting for orders from LONDON.

"We are, SIR, &c."

His majeſty's conſul being at that time indiſpoſed, the contents of the letter were communicated to my lord HINDFORD, who was not ignorant of our danger; and with that care and aſſiduity with which his lordſhip always attended the commercial as well as military intereſt of this nation in RUSSIA, he preſented a memorial to the great chancellor, and the very next day obtained an order for a ſhip to be ſent from ASTRACHAN to GHILAN. Our fears were not ill grounded, for about this time NADIR, whoſe cruelty had rendered him the dread of ASIA, had ſuffered a violent death, and left his unhappy people expoſed to thoſe miſeries which he had entailed upon them.

The neceſſary orders were diſpatched to ASTRACHAN, and proper inſtructions given; in conſequence hereof the factors in St. PETERSBURG received

received an anſwer from ASTRACHAN, and alſo from LONDON, in relation to the meaſures propoſed for the ſafety of the effects. Theſe circumſtances occaſioned the following letter from the factors in St. PETERSBURG to thoſe in GHILAN.

" GENTLEMEN, St. PETERSBURG, September 1747.

" YOU will find by the incloſed, that the proprietors in LONDON, " have given us a power of ordering and inſtructing you, in re- " gard to their concerns under your care. The grand object of our at- " tention at preſent is the ſecurity of their effects. We ſhould be great- " ly concerned if you were conſtrained by a ſenſe of immediate dan- " ger to ſhip off your EUROPEAN effects, but the plunder of them " would be ſtill a greater misfortune. The meaſures taken by Mr. " GEORGE THOMPSON of ASTRACHAN are very agreeable to us; he " has ſent you a ſtout veſſel to be uſed as a ſafe warehouſe, or to bring " off your effects; or in any other manner you ſhall think proper. You " muſt be guided by the ſituation of affairs in that country. We flatter " ourſelves the danger is over, and that the revolution ſaid to have taken " place, will be attended with many happy conſequences; and, by creat- " ing a circulation of money, the inhabitants will be delivered from their " oppreſſions.

" We apprehend it is neceſſary to you as merchants, who have no " miniſter from our own ſoveſeign, to deſire the protection of the throne, " for the ſecurity of your effects, as well as for their more ſpeedy ſale. " If there is a new king, and you think proper to pay him your com- " pliments in form, attended with a preſent, according to the cuſtom of " the country, it will be agreeable to your principals; and we give you " full power to act in this particular as you judge moſt expedient. We " only recommend that you ſhew a proper regard to the unproſperous " ſtate of the affairs under your care.

" As Mr. ELTON's conduct has occaſioned ſo much miſchief and ill " blood, we deſire you, not only to avoid giving any offence to the RUS- " SIAN government, but to cultivate a perfect underſtanding with the

" miniſters

" miniſters and officers of her imperial majeſty. The regard which was " ſhewn you by the RUSSIAN embaſſador in GHILAN, is already a proof " that you act upon right principles, which your own experience will " corroborate.

" The proprietors are impatient to finiſh the ſale of their goods under " your care, in the beſt and moſt expeditious manner, and therefore they " hope that an offer of goods to the king of PERSIA, at an eaſy rate, " might engage him to take off a large parcel. Whether forcing a ſale " can be effected in any ſatisfactory manner, we know not; but we give " you this intimation of their pleaſure, that you may act according to " it: and we yet flatter ourſelves, that the tedious diſburſement, and heavy " charge attending this trade, will be compenſated by the future returns.

" We are, &c."

CHAP. XVI.

Conſequences of NADIR SHAH's *death. The factors in* PERSIA *plundered of* 80,000 l. *Freſh diſturbances in* PERSIA. *Letter upon this ſubject from the factors in* GHILAN *to the factors in St.* PETERSBURG. *Anſwer to the above letter. Letters from the factors in* GHILAN *to their employers in* LONDON.

NADIR was now cut off, and his nephew ALI KOULI KHAN ſeized upon the PERSIAN diadem, under the name of ADIL, or the juſt: he publiſhed his decrees and manifeſtoes in every quarter of the empire, complaining of the cruelty of his uncle, whoſe hands were ſo deeply ſtained with blood. He profeſſed to begin his reign upon other principles, and inſtead of demanding freſh ſubſidies of the people, who were languiſhing in the extremeſt poverty, he remitted all taxes for a conſiderable time.

As no violent convulſion of the ſtate immediately ſucceeded upon NADIR's death, and ALI had taken poſſeſſion of the army and treaſury without oppoſition, we could not but flatter ourſelves that all was in a ſtate

ſtate of ſecurity, and we rejoiced at the change of government, which promiſed a happy concluſion of our CASPIAN trade: but providence had a chaſtiſement in reſerve for us, as the reader will judge from an extract of the letter wrote by the BRITISH factors in GHILAN to the factors in St. PETERSBURG.

"GENTLEMEN, RESHD, February 20, 1748.

"BY the laſt ſhip that ſailed for ASTRACHAN in autumn, we had "the honour to acquaint you in what manner an offer was made "to us by the RUSSIAN miniſter, of the ſhip which Mr. GEORGE "THOMPSON ſent from ASTRACHAN. As it was impoſſible for us to "ſhip the goods in ſo ſhort a time as the RUSSIAN reſident limited, and as "accounts from all parts of this empire gave us to expect peace and tran- "quility, we indulged ourſelves in the hopes of an uninterrupted ſecurity. "About two months ago we obtained a decree from ADIL SHAH, direct- "ing the governor ACHMED KHAN to take the remainder of our de- "mand of AGA HASAN, for the goods which they had forcibly taken "from us ſometime ago, on which about 6000 crowns are yet due. It was "ſaid that AGA HASAN and his adherents, repreſented to ADIL SHAH, "that when the pretender SAUN[i], threatened to poſſeſs himſelf of that "place, they took ſo much of our effects to raiſe ſoldiers for its defence; "and that the king had ordered the governor to ſatisfy the ſufferers as "far as 8000 out of his treaſury: however we have not yet recovered "any thing. After eſcaping a total deſtruction, in conſequence of NA- "DIR's death, we thought ourſelves extremely happy in being almoſt "the only poſſeſſors of EUROPEAN commodities, with an increaſing "demand, and ſecure from any danger, SAUN being taken by AMUR "ASLAN KHAN, and blinded.

"The latter end of December the new SHAH arrived in MASANDERAN[k], "ten days eaſy journey eaſtward from hence. We immediately felt the "benefit of his approach, and had reaſon to expect great ſales. Soon "after his arrival, the SHAH ſent for AMUR ASLAN KHAN, who was "then at TAVRIS; but he excuſed himſelf, pretending to be ſick: a

[i] He appeared in arms in SHIRVAN after NADIR's death.

[k] At the palace of ASHEREFF, described in vol. I. chap. XLIII.

"ſecond

" ſecond meſſage was ſent to him to come as ſoon as poſſible; he then
" alledged that the country about SHIRVAN being in a rebellious diſpoſi-
" tion, his preſence with the troops was neceſſary: ſoon after two couriers
" went with preſents to him from ADJL SHAH, preſſing him to come
" with them; but inſtead of obeying the king's orders he killed the cou-
" riers. It was reported that they had affronted the KHAN. The 15th
" of January a rumour was ſpread, that ſome troops were ordered hither,
" and it was then ſtrongly ſuſpected that AMUR ASLAN KHAN had de-
" clared againſt the king. We endeavoured to get to the bottom of the
" affair, and applied to KOULIFA, formerly the PERSIAN miniſter at the
" court of RUSSIA, who was then here: he told us he had indeed that
" day received intelligence that troops were coming this way, but if they
" entered this province, and were out of the juriſdiction of AMUR AS-
" LAN KHAN, he believed they would declare for the SHAH, and adviſed
" us to make ourſelves eaſy; adding, that patience and a little time would
" bring all things to rights. However we applied to the RUSSIAN reſi-
" dent, deſiring a liberty to ſhip the moſt valuable of our effects on board
" the RUSSIAN veſſels then in the port; he anſwered that we might get
" our MONEY ready to ſend on board, but as to GOODS he could not give
" us any room, having only two ſmall ſnows; the ſhip which came to
" us in autumn being ſent to BAKU; that he would diſpatch a third veſſel
" which was ready to ſail for DERBEND, and order her to call at BAKU,
" with inſtructions for that ſhip to come to us immediately. The 19th
" of January in the night, we received certain information that a number
" of troops were on the road, and would arrive the next day, who gave
" out that they were going to the SHAH's camp. Being thus alarmed we
" quitted our houſe, but for want of cattle to carry off all our money, we
" were obliged to ſend part of it to the reſident's quarters. Upon our
" arrival on board we were informed that 1700 men, under the com-
" mand of RIZA KOULI KHAN, had entered RESHD on the day we left
" it; and having ſent for our warehouſe-keeper demanded of him where
" our money was; he told them we had taken it with us, but this an-
" ſwer not being ſatisfactory, he was three ſeveral times beaten; he was
" alſo pricked with packing-needles, and threatened to be burnt, in hopes

" of extorting a confeſſion from him: but the KHAN perceiving that the " money was not to be found, except about 700 crowns, which this " ſervant had in his hands, ordered the ſoldiers to bring him goods, which " they did to about the number of 160 bales; when they deſired that no " more might be taken, as they had as much as they could carry off. " The next evening ACHMED KHAN, who was gone to LAHIJON, two " days before, and ſecretly carried away his valuable effects, returned " with a few ſoldiers, and about midnight attacked the rebels, but in ſo " ſhameful a manner that he was ſoon put to flight. This only ſerved " to irritate them, inſomuch that orders were given to plunder and diſ- " poſe of all our effects [k], which they accordingly did, moſt effectually. " They ſold a great value at the moſt ſcandalous prices, as raw ſilk at one " crown per batman [l], begreſt at two, three or four crowns per piece [m], " and other goods in proportion; by which means they readily found " buyers, who have either conveyed the goods out of the province, or " ſecreted them.

" As ſoon as we were informed that the rebels had quitted the place " and marched for TAVRIS, and that forces were ſent by ADIL SHAH in " purſuit of them, we returned to our houſe, which exhibited only naked " walls. We have applied to the people here to procure the reſtitution " of ſuch goods as can be diſcovered, and they give us fair words, but " we have not been able to collect above 700 pieces.

" The rebels are ſtopped at KESKAR by the peaſants, and now ſurround- " ed by the king's troops: the forces which were ſent by AMUR ASLAN " KHAN to their relief, have deſerted, and come over to the SHAH's par- " ty. Upon this news we petitioned the SHAH's general to take care " of our affairs: he immediately deſired one of us to come to him, " and Mr. VAN MIEROP accordingly ſet out yeſterday. We hear theſe " rebels have made uſe of our goods as a breaſt-work, and to cover them " from the weather, ſo that we fear whatever is found will be of little " value.

[k] In value about 80,000 l. [l] Six pence per pound of 16 ounces. [m] $\frac{1}{15}$ part of the value.

The

" The only hopes we have at preſent are in the clemency and juſtice " of the SHAH, to whom we ſhall apply as ſoon as affairs are ſettled. " Thus, gentlemen, you ſee to what a miſerable ſtate your affairs are re- " duced: we ſuſpect that ſome people here have acted contrary to their " profeſſions, for it is certain they are now poſſeſſed of great quantities " of our goods. The very INDIAN merchants, who are PAGANS, bluſh " at the conduct of the CHRISTIANS; but fear reſtrains us from ſaying " more at preſent. It is highly probable, from many circumſtances, that " ACHMED KHAN, the governor of this place, was in the conſpiracy. " When RIZA KOULI KHAN, the commander of the rebels, heard that " ACHMED KHAN was coming to attack him, he produced letters in " the preſence of our warehouſe keeper, wherein he ſaid ACHMED KHAN " had invited him, and declared that the end of his coming was not to " make himſelf maſter of the province, but of the money and effects of " the FRANKS, meaning us; and alſo of thoſe of AGA MAHOMMED, " the SHAH's merchant.

" The quantity of ſilk we have loſt upon this occaſion amounts to " 18,000 crowns [n]. Our money ſtill remains on board the ſhip; for be- " tween open enemies and falſe friends, we do not know where to truſt " ourſelves, or it. God ſend us a happy deliverance from this ſcene of " miſery; and in expectation of your counſel and inſtructions we remain,

" GENTLEMEN, your moſt humble ſervants."

" P. S. We have received intelligence that the commander of the re- " bels at KESKAR is taken, and his forces put to the ſword; that " the king's troops have ſeized upon all the goods found in the hands " of the rebels, which they have divided among themſelves as ſpoil."

We may here ſtop and contemplate this picture of PERSIAN frenzy and perfidious wickedneſs. Theſe rebels dug up even the floors of the ENGLISH houſe at RESHD; and, as a humorous ſpecimen of their havock, threw a quantity of ſugar into a well, that diſpatch might be made in ſweetning the water. Patience is a remedy of great efficacy: here

[n] Which would have produced 8500 great pounds.

ſeemed to be no other for the preſent, ſo that we may indulge reflection, and try to what account it will turn: it threw me on a thought which might be impertinent to mention if I had not heard it ſeriouſly maintained, that national gain may ariſe from the loſs of private merchants, providing that loſs is in our manufactures. In proof of this PROFOUND DOCTRINE it is alledged, that the labour for which the artificers have been paid, vaſtly exceeds the price of the original material; and that if we get home ſo much as the original material is worth, the national intereſt receives no hurt. This is too deep a ſpeculation for me, I confeſs, eſpecially while I feel for my friends who ſuffer. I preſume our riches ariſe from our labour as well as materials, and that the whole community ſuffers, in proportion to the calamities which happen to a part of it; and the greater the part which ſuffers, the greater the misfortune. The good which may in this caſe happen to ſome, in conſequence of a loſs by affording occaſion of a freſh employment, can never be an equivalent for the greater diminution of private ſtock, becauſe private ſtock is, without doubt, a part of the national ſtock; and that cannot be true of a particular loſs, which, if general, would ruin our merchants, and conſequently diſtreſs the nation. If the end of our labour is fruſtrated, how is it poſſible we can proſper, whilſt that labour is acknowledged to be one great ſource from whence our riches flow?

But to return to our hiſtory; dreadful as this news was, the clemency of the new king ſeemed to promiſe us reſtitution, ſo that we flattered ourſelves with the ſame ſucceſs as we had obtained at ASTRABAD four years before: but it pleaſed providence to rebuke us for theſe ſanguine expectations, which were hardly well formed, when news came that IBRAHIM MYRZA, the king's brother, was in rebellion.

The factors in St. PETERSBURG now made anſwer to the factors in GHILAN.

"GENTLEMEN, St. PETERSBURG, May 11, 1748.

"THE melancholy account of the ſituation of your houſe contained in your favour of the 20th of February, you may eaſily imagine

" gine gives us the moſt ſenſible concern; but we flatter ourſelves that the " loſs will be made good to you, and that your prudent management " joined to the juſtice of your cauſe, can hardly fail of obtaining reſti- " tution from the clemency of ADIL SHAH.

" As you are the beſt judges what means to take for this end, we " therefore hope you have followed the dictates of your own reaſon and " experience; and we learn by the news of the 10th of March, that " you had a fair proſpect of making this important recovery. The re- " volt, which was further ſuſpected, being unknown to us in any cir- " cumſtance, we cannot make any reflections on it. What the company " at home will determine, you will hear ſoon; but you muſt not heſitate " to act as the circumſtances of the times may require. This unhappy " affair is the greater ſhock to us, as we had entertained the moſt ſan- " guine hopes of your making large returns.

" We are, GENTLEMEN, yours, &c."

It is eaſy to conceive in what manner the CASPIAN traders in LONDON received the melancholy news of the total plunder of their factory in PERSIA; but the following letter from their factors in RESHD to their factors in St. PETERSBURG, afforded ſome conſolation.

" SIRS, RESHD, April 4, 1748.

" AS an embaſſador from ADIL SHAH to the court of RUSSIA is go- " ing to ASTRACHAN, we embrace this opportunity to inform " you of what has occurred ſince our laſt.

" In regard to the SHAH's orders for collecting our plundered goods " and returning them to us, nothing further has been executed; and the " ſmall quantity mentioned to be delivered to us is not worth above 12 " or 1400 crowns. ACHMED KHAN declares that he had delivered 470 " pieces of our goods to the king's merchant, in lieu of his goods loſt; " and the reſt which he has collected being moſtly damaged, he does not " think worth the delivery: the truth is, he has ſold a great part of them, " and the remainder were given in payment of his own debts. In caſe

" ADIL

" ADIL SHAH ſhould be pleaſed to pay us for the effects loſt, we think " it not ſafe to keep the money here; to inveſt it in raw ſilk cannot be " done in leſs than three racoltas [o], and to let it remain on ſhip-bord in an " open road ſo long a time is alſo very dangerous; for theſe reaſons we " think it beſt to ſend it to ASTRACHAN. But in this caſe a difficulty a- " riſes, whether it will be ſuffered to return, as there is a prohibition to " export any money from RUSSIA. We have diſcourſed with the RUSSI- " AN reſident on this ſubject, and he thinks our caſe very different from " that of exporting money, and makes no doubt but it will be permitted.

" We cannot reaſonably expect your anſwer before winter, therefore " we write to Mr. conſul WOLFF, and the factors at St. PETERSBURG, " to give us immediate orders, which in the mean time we ſhall obſerve.

" The collector of the cuſtoms, who arrived lately, informs us that " when he was in the camp he heard that the miniſters were willing and " ready to accommodate our affairs, but that the ſucceſs would be at- " tended with a great expence. In caſe the SHAH pays us in gold, it " will be difficult to get it exchanged for ſilver to purchaſe ſilk, and this " commodity is chiefly purchaſed with ſilver, and very little gold can be " put off that way. If he pays in ſilver, it will be difficult to get ſuch " a ſum exchanged for gold without giving an advance thereon; and " gold, as you will ſee hereunder, is the moſt profitable of the two, if " any of the merchants concerned chuſe to have their returns in ſpecie. " The gold currency of PERSIA is, viz.

" Muker ducats current at 6 crowns [p], weigh 2 $\frac{9}{24}$ muſcals [q].

" Leſſer dittos - - 1 $\frac{80}{100}$ - - - - - - $\frac{18}{24}$

" Half crowns or rupies, ſiſid denaers and abaſſies are in general pretty " equal at preſent, as few old ones which are more weighty now remain."

[o] A mercantile term for the annual growth of certain productions. [p] 1 crown weighs 5 muſcals of ſilver. [q] 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ muſcals = 1 ounce troy.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The CASPIAN *traders apply for his majeſty's letter to* ADIL SHAH. *The king's letter to that prince.* ADIL SHAH *promiſes reſtitution, but is dethroned by his brother* IBRAHIM. *Letter from the factors in* GHILAN *to the factors in St.* PETERSBURG, *with a further account of the diſtraction of the times.* ELTON *eſcapes an aſſaſſination.*

UNDER theſe flattering expectations, the CASPIAN traders in LONDON, in hopes of ſtrengthening their intereſt in PERSIA, petitioned his majeſty. In this they ſet forth the deplorable ſtate of their affairs, and that as no treaty of commerce exiſted between the crowns of GREAT BRITAIN and PERSIA, they had no protection but what aroſe from the immediate favour of the PERSIAN monarchs, which they prayed his majeſty to procure for them. The king, ever ready to ſuccour the diſtreſſed, granted them his letter, dated in June 1748, as follows.

" GEORGE THE SECOND, by the grace of almighty God, creator of hea-
" ven and earth, KING of GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE and IRELAND,
" the moſt invincible and moſt mighty DEFENDER of the CHRISTIAN
" faith, &c.

" To the SERENE, moſt POTENT, and moſt RENOWNED prince ADIL
" SHAH, king of PERSIA, MEDIA and ARMENIA, &c.

" The moſt high exalted prince in ample honour and dignity, ſends kind
" ſalutations and wiſhes of health and happineſs.

" MOST NOBLE AND MOST MIGHTY PRINCE,

" WE have lately received with great pleaſure, by the governor and
" company of our royal merchants trading to RUSSIA, and through
" RUSSIA to PERSIA, the welcome news of your happy acceſſion to the
" throne of the PERSIAN empire. We could not defer ſending you theſe
" our royal letters, to teſtify the particular joy and ſatisfaction with which
" we received the account of your ſerenity's elevation to that high degree
" of power and dignity; upon which we congratulate you in the moſt
" friendly

" friendly and affectionate manner, and wiſh your ſerenity may enjoy it
" during the courſe of many years, with all happineſs and proſperity.

" Our ſaid governor and company of our royal merchants having re-
" preſented to us that they have received advices from their factors re-
" ſiding at RESHD; that in the month of January laſt a party of rebels
" had plundered them of all their goods and merchandize, both wool-
" len, as well as ſilk which they had provided as returns, to the amount
" of ſeveral hundred thouſand mildenaers, and that they had but juſt
" time to eſcape with their lives, and part of what money they had by
" them, on board a veſſel then riding at anchor in that port; they have
" therefore beſought us to recommend this affair to you, and to deſire
" that all reſtitution, juſtice, and ample ſatisfaction may be made to them,
" and likewiſe that you grant them your protection for their perſons and
" effects from any inſults or violations for the future.

" We have thought fit to acquaint your ſerenity therewith, and de-
" ſire that you will favour our merchants as abovementioned with your
" royal countenance and protection; not doubting but that your ſerenity
" will, upon the receipt of theſe our royal letters, cauſe juſtice to be
" done to our company and merchants.

" Juſtice being the glory of princes, we can make no doubt of your
" ſerenity's ready compliance with this our requeſt, eſpecially as the trade
" carried on by our ſubjects in PERSIA, tends ſo highly to the mutual
" advantage of both nations, and requires ſome particular marks of your
" favour and ſupport. And we hope, as our merchants are ſtrangers in
" your empire, and place their intire dependance in your favour and pro-
" tection, your ſerenity will hear them favourably, and redreſs any griev-
" ances they may now repreſent, or at any time hereafter have juſt cauſe
" to lay before you. We rely on your royal favour and juſtice, and con-
" clude with repeating our wiſhes of health and true happineſs to your
" ſerenity and royal family, &c.

" Your affectionate friend. Sign'd G. R."

This

This mark of his majeſty's tender concern could not poſſibly produce any effect, for though ALI had many good qualities, he wanted thoſe which were the moſt eſſential. Exalted with the notion of delivering PERSIA from tyranny, and receiving the crown as his reward; he abandoned himſelf to his favourite intoxicating gratifications of women and ſtrong liquors; by which means he became an eaſy prey to the ambition of his brother IBRAHIM. After ALI had reigned about 12 months, IBRAHIM aſpiring to the crown, collected a body of forces; and both armies meeting, ALI was taken priſoner and blinded; and the loſs of his eyes threw a total darkneſs on the proſpect which the CASPIAN traders had of the recovery of their loſs from him.

This event baniſhed the factors a ſecond time from their houſe at RESHD to ENZELLEE, where they might the more eaſily ſecure the poor remains of their plundered fortunes. From hence after acquainting the factors in St. PETERSBURG of the defeat of ADIL SHAH [r], they wrote as follows.

" GENTLEMEN, ENZELLEE, June 1748.

" ON the 23d of May we retired to ENZELLEE a ſecond time, on the " report of the arrival of a new governor on the part of IBRAHIM " MYRZA [f], with ſome troops. The ſecond inſtant we received news " from RESHD, that ASKERI KHAN, lately MYRZA ASKERI, was arriv- " ed there with 180 men, with order to collect ſuch monies as belonged " to the crown and the great men. Our interpreter, whom we had pur- " poſely left in RESHD to ſee what paſſed, came to us, and brought a " letter from ASKERI KHAN, in which he acquainted us that he was " very ſorry to hear of our loſſes and ſufferings, and ready to do us all " poſſible ſervice: that he had a decree from IBRAHIM MYRZA, which " he would deliver to us as ſoon as we came to town. On the 3d we re- " turned an anſwer, and acknowledged our obligations for his profeſſion " of friendſhip, and that as ſoon as we had finiſhed the buſineſs we were " obliged to perform, we would wait on him; for we think it ſafeſt to

[r] The reader will remember that ALI KOULI KHAN took the name of ADIL. [f] He never took the name of SHAH, but only MYRZA or prince.

" wait a few days and ſee how affairs are conducted by him." They then recount the difficulties they labour under, in regard to the ſafety of their money, it appearing to be the chief aim of the RUSSIAN reſident to oblige them to leave PERSIA with it; and continue thus. " The 14th of May we viſited the KHAN, who, after delivering IBRA-" HIM's decree, aſſured us we had nothing to fear, and might depend " on his good-will. He then ſent ſeveral merchants to look at the cloth " returned to us by MEHTI KOULI KHAN, and to agree for the price of " it. On the 11th [t] inſtant the reſident came to town to fix his dwelling " at ENZELLEE, and the next day he ſent a letter to our THOMPSON " and WILDER, to acquaint them that he had received advice that 400 " ſoldiers were ſent by the KHAN to KISKAR, and deſired them to con-" ſider whether it would not be beſt to retire from the place; they anſwer-" ed that they would conſider of the matter; upon which he expreſſed " his great concern for Mr. VAN MIEROP, who was at RESHD, adding " that if we had any bales or parcels to ſhip, we muſt do it immediate-" ly, for in caſe of a neceſſity to leave PERSIA, he ſhould not otherwiſe " be able to give us any tonnage.

" On the 17th Mr. VAN MIEROP returned from RESHD, and waited " on the reſident. We deſired of him that at leaſt two cheſts containing " our money, might remain here until the departure of the laſt ſhip " from hence, and if we ſhould then think it neceſſary to ſend it to AS-" TRACHAN, that we might have tonnage for it. It appears to us that " all poſſible methods are practiſed to frighten and induce us to ſend our " money and effects from hence, that the reſident may be ſole maſ-" ter of the ſilk market; and if ſome favourable circumſtance does not " encourage us to return to our houſe, it will be of very little conſe-" quence to us who has the market, for were we to purchaſe ſilk we " know not where to truſt it.

" We are, &c."

Whilſt the BRITISH factors in GHILAN were thus complaining of their ſufferings, the [illegible] perhaps will be curious to know what became of

[t] June.

ELTON

ELTON during theſe revolutions. NADIR's death did not intirely quaſh his hopes; being perſonally known to ALI KOULI KHAN, he expected protection from him; and, contrary to the belief of his friends in EUROPE, he received aſſurances of being ſupported by that prince; from whom he alſo received a preſent. ALI, who began to court the friendſhip of RUSSIA, would hardly have purſued his uncle's deſign of building ſhips, knowing, if he knew any thing, that the RUSSIANS would never ſubmit to its being brought to maturity. The peaſants of GHILAN ſubſcribed to it as little as the RUSSIANS; inſomuch that upon the occaſion of NADIR's death, they attempted to deſtroy ELTON, and a ball was actually ſhot through ſome part of his cloathing: but as he eſcaped the fate of his maſter NADIR, he ſurvived ALI's fortune alſo; and the reputation of his abilities having reached IBRAHIM, this prince likewiſe aſſured him of his protection.

CHAP. XVIII.

The BRITISH *factors in* GHILAN *return home. Their letter upon this occaſion. They arrive at St.* PETERSBURG. *The whole amount of the* CASPIAN *trade from its firſt eſtabliſhment.*

THE factors in PERSIA now thought it high time to look towards their native country, and as there was but little proſpect of being ſerviceable to their principals, to provide for the ſecurity of their own perſons, by removing from a ſcene of miſery and diſtreſs. Mr. VAN MIEROP and Mr. CHARLES THOMPSON prepared to return home to EUROPE, for which purpoſe they had received inſtructions. Their letter to the BRITISH factors in St. PETERSBURG beſt explains the nature of their circumſtances at this time.

"GENTLEMEN, ENZELLEE, September 23, 1748.

"WE remained at ENZELLEE till the 20th of July, and hearing that "IBRAHIM MYRZA had ſent for ASKERI KHAN under arreſt; "that a new governor was arrived, and RESHD becom[illegible]r; we ven-

" tured to return home. We began then to buy ſilk, and to ſhip it off " as faſt as poſſible: the reſident informed us that he intended to leave " RESHD, with all the RUSSIAN ſhips on the 10th inſtant, and if we had " any goods to ſhip, or intended to go to RUSSIA, we muſt be ready " by that time. We deſired of him, that in conſideration of the amity " between the crowns of GREAT BRITAIN and RUSSIA, the ſubjects " of the former being deeply intereſted, that a ſhip might remain here " during the winter, for which we were ready to pay the freight. To " this he anſwered, that without an order from his court he could not " let any ſhips remain after the 10th of September. We are credibly in- " formed that IBRAHIM MYRZA has cauſed the eyes of his brother, the " late king, to be put out, and ſent troops to attack AMUR ASLAN KHAN, " making ſlow marches that way himſelf.

" On the 19th inſtant we went to ENZELLEE, and deſired the reſident " to grant tonnage for our ſilk on board of two ſhips, in order to di- " vide the riſk; but he anſwered, that he had reſerved one for him- " ſelf and his friends, and the other for the conſul and the trade, there- " fore we muſt put all on board that ſhip. As we appeared determined " rather to remain behind than leave our effects, he conſented that this " ſhip ſhould remain till the 20th, provided we would be ready at that " time, to which we agreed. About noon the governor of RESHD was " taken under arreſt, and his houſe plundered by two colonels and a par- " ty, ſuppoſed to be in the intereſt of AMUR ASLAN KHAN. This cir- " cumſtance, joined to the diſtracted condition of the country in general, " and the intended departure of all the ſhips for RUSSIA, induced us to " ſend the money uninveſted, by our MIEROP and THOMPSON.

" We are, &c."

Meſſieurs MIEROP and THOMPSON accordingly left PERSIA, leaving their partner Mr. WILDER behind; they brought with them about 33,000 crowns value in raw ſilk, and as much more in gold and ſilver. The month following they arrived in ASTRACHAN, but for want of a regular correſpondency on the part of the adventurers, it was the end of July the next year before they arrived at St. PETERSBURG; and here they were

were detained a whole year, on account of the jealouſy of ſome of their principals.

Perhaps it may be imagined, that the intire amount of a trade in which above 150 perſons were concerned, and in which the ballance of the account plundered was ſo very conſiderable, ſhould be greater than we really find it.

The whole export of cloth and EUROPEAN goods, for account of the BRITISH CASPIAN traders, brought into PERSIA, coſt as follows.

		crowns
1742	486 parcels	170,000
1743	414 ditto	144,900
1744	299 ditto	102,650
1745	value	252,942
1746	ditto	20,000
	£. 174,398	689,592

The whole import of raw ſilk, according to the value in PERSIA.

	crowns
1743	120,000
1744	50,000
1745	62,000
1746	50,500
1747	13,000
1748	12,000
1749	33,000
in money	33,000
£. 93,375	373,500

The price of raw ſilk riſing much beyond its ordinary value, it may be eaſily calculated that the profits on this trade were very conſiderable, and equal to the riſk, however great this may appear. A batman of SHERBAFF ſilk, containing 8 pounds of 24 ounces, being bought for about 16 crowns, the charges 34 per cent. till delivered for ſale, brings it to about 15 s. 6 d. per pound; and ſuch ſilk reached the price of 28 ſhillings [u]; conſequently thoſe who came early into this trade, or ſent the moſt proper goods, may not have ſuffered very much.

[u] It may however be at 18 s. again, if we get a large ſupply from other countries.

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CHAP. XIX.

Extract of the author's letter to a friend, exhibiting a ſummary view of the BRITISH CASPIAN *trade from its eſtabliſhment; with remarks on the behaviour of the* RUSSIAN *reſident and ſubjects, to the* BRITISH *factors in* GHILAN, *on occaſion of the plunder.*

I KNOW not how to give the reader an abridgment of this narrative, and at the ſame time explain the concluſion of the cataſtrophe, than by the following letter to a friend, the cloſe of which, being the part moſt material to my preſent purpoſe, explains in what manner people are liable to be treated, even by their very good friends as well as their enemies; and how particular circumſtances may expoſe the ſubjects of any prince to the moſt unworthy uſage.

"SIR, St. PETERSBURG, December 1749.

"AS to the antiquity of the CASPIAN commerce, I never diſcovered that we had any trade over that ſea, except a ſmall trial "made in the ſixteenth century. To begin with the proper date of our "late attempt, you muſt remember that his preſent majeſty renewed a "treaty of commerce with ANNA IVANOWNA in 1734, by which a liberty of this trade is granted. You know that the parliament of GREAT "BRITAIN paſſed an act in 1741, granting a liberty to ſuch perſons "as are free of the RUSSIA company, to import the raw ſilk of PERSIA "into GREAT BRITAIN, in return for BRITISH manufactures ſold in "PERSIA; in conſequence whereof from 1741 to 1745, were ſent "170,000 l. value into PERSIA.

"In 1743, JOHN ELTON, one of our factors in PERSIA, engaged himſelf as a ſhip-builder in the ſervice of NADIR SHAH, which offended "the RUSSIANS, and at length occaſioned a decree of the RUSSIAN court, "[illegible]liſhed in 1746, prohibiting this trade. The cruelties of NADIR "SHAH had involved his people in ſuch extreme miſery, that hardly the "[illegible]trivial ſales could be made by the BRITISH factors in the north "[illegible]ERS[illegible]rom 1744 to 1747: in June 1747 NADIR ſuffered a "violent

" violent death; his nephew ALI then mounted the throne, and trade " inſtantly began to revive; but in January following, AMUR ASLAN " KHAN, a couſin of NADIR, revolting from ALI, ſent a body of his " forces and pillaged the BRITISH factors in RESHD to the value of " 80,000 l. ALI ſoon defeated thoſe rebels, and declared his intentions " to do us juſtice; but his brother IBRAHIM MYRZA alſo revolting, ALI " was taken priſoner and blinded.

" You muſt obſerve, that the ſovereigns of RUSSIA having been maſ- " ters of GHILAN from 1722 to 1731, are ſtill conſidered with a re- " ſpectful regard, and the perſons and houſes of their miniſters are uſu- " ally ſacred to the inhabitants of that province. The good underſtand- " ing between GREAT BRITAIN and RUSSIA, and the repeated pro- " miſes of protection received from the RUSSIAN court, inclined our " merchants at home and their factors in PERSIA to expect not only pro- " tection and juſtice, but kindneſs and friendſhip from the RUSSIAN reſi- " dent and ſubjects in PERSIA. But the contrary happened; for I am " well aſſured that ſeveral ſubjects of that empire were actually partners " in the plunder, if receiving the ſtolen goods can make them ſuch.

" AMUR ASLAN KHAN having thus rebelled againſt ALI, this robbery " might, in reſpect to the declared ſubjects of that prince, be deemed " an hoſtile plunder only; but his taking the effects of ſtrangers, who in " confidence of the laws of hoſpitality came into PERSIA to trade, and " neither provoked nor reſiſted, nor any ways oppoſed the invaders, makes " this capture an abſolute robbery; conſequently the goods ought in juſ- " tice to be conſidered as ſtolen, and thoſe who bought them as buying " ſtolen goods. To buy ſuch goods with a view to profit by the diſtreſs " of him who is robbed, is certainly againſt all laws human and divine; " and contrary to the friendſhip and alliance of the prince whoſe ſubjects " are robbed, and of him whoſe ſubjects buy ſuch ſtolen goods.

" The paſſions of men in all countries betray them often into unwa- " rantable exceſſes; but the civilized part of mankind have ge[illegible] " ſuch impreſſions of moral duties, as ſeldom to violate t[illegible] com- " without giving ſome marks of compunction. The RUSSIAN reſ[illegible]

" was ſo far afraid or aſhamed, as to diſown he had bought any of the " goods; as did the other ſubjects of RUSSIA; but a great part of thoſe " goods I am aſſured were ſeen in their poſſeſſion, and particularly in " the reſident's houſe: and when the factor Mr. VAN MIEROP, offered " the RUSSIANS payment of the value they had given for theſe goods, " they ſtill alledged that they had not purchaſed any ſuch.

" The impreſſions which the honeſt part of the PERSIANS received " from the violation of juſtice in taking theſe effects, appears by the con- " duct of AGA MIR CASBINI, and his partner HAHDGEE MEHTIE. " Theſe men had made a profit of 400 crowns, on a purchaſe of ſome " plundered cloth: the HAHDGEE declared againſt ſuch gain, as contrary " to reaſon and religion, and gave notice thereof to our factors, who in " conſideration of the great riſk in tranſporting the goods to the place " where they had been ſold, divided the profits with him.

" In what manner the ſpirit of chriſtianity inſpires the true profeſſors " thereof with the love of juſtice and humanity, beyond the doctrine of " MAHOMMED, is very evident to real CHRISTIANS who have lived a- " mongſt MAHOMMEDANS: but neither the CHRISTIAN reſident nor the " CHRISTIAN merchants, in this inſtance acted in the ſame manner as " HAHDGEE MEHTI.

" You know, Sir, I was plundered at ASTRABAD in a rebellion againſt " NADIR SHAH in 1744. The rebels carried the farce ſo far as to give " me an obligation for the amount of the goods taken, promiſing pay- " ment thereof; which plainly ſhewed they did not think they had any " right to ſeize the goods of a ſtranger, becauſe they rebelled againſt " their ſovereign; how much leſs can the purchaſe of the goods in queſ- " tion be warranted as legal?

" The RUSSIAN court has ſeized PERSIAN effects in RUSSIA to in- " demnify RUSSIAN merchants who loſt effects by plunder in PERSIA. " I am perſuaded therefore that this court would not acquieſce in the " [illegible] reſident towards us. But the queſtion is, if theſe in- " [illegible]ies done us by the reſident and his people, were proved in a proper " manner,

" manner, which will require ſome ſkill and expence, for the RUSSI-
" ANS, who are the proper and legal evidences, are accomplices, whe-
" ther it would avail to obtain reſtitution? perhaps the reſident might be
" puniſhed in a pecuniary way, without any benefit to us. Inquiſitions
" concerning great illegal gains are things very much out of faſhion, e-
" ven in limited monarchies, and where laws are ſaid to be revered, and
" the execution of them conſidered as bulwarks of property; I am a-
" fraid you find it ſo. But you will pleaſe to obſerve, that I am told
" alſo the purchace of the goods in queſtion, and retaining them, not-
" withſtanding the value paid was offered to be returned, is a warrant-
" able act, and that men have a right to make their fortune by ſuch
" means, when ſuch a happy occaſion offers. If thoſe who might be
" appointed our advocates in this affair ſhould happen to be of this opi-
" nion, a complaint would be over-ballanced by a vexatious proſecution
" to no purpoſe; but you are at liberty to take what meaſures you pleaſe.
" I am ſorry that it is not in my power to give you any relief; if it was,
" I know my own opinion as well as inclination, and am very much,
" SIR, yours, &c."

CHAP. XX.

SHAHROKH *prevails over* IBRAHIM. *The king writes to* SHAHROKH SHAH. *Diſtractions in* PERSIA. *Act of parliament to encourage the growth of ſilk in our* AMERICAN *plantations. A large ſupply of this commodity propoſed from* CHINA. *Act for repealing the duties upon* CHINA *raw ſilk.*

THOUGH all the BRITISH factors except one had left GHILAN, the CASPIAN traders did not abandon all hopes of the recovery of their loſs. The rebel AMUR ASLAN KHAN, the author of the unhappy plunder of our factory, was ſoon after ſeized by IBRAHIM, on the weſtern coaſt of the CASPIAN, and put to death. In the mean time SHAHROKH was [illegible]ſen king at MESCHED, and ſupported by a very powerful party. The [illegible]ws carried IBRAHIM back, but his fortune was ſoon reverſed by th[illegible] tion of his army, and his total defeat. Whether SHAH[illegible] W[illegible]

blood royal is very hard to determine; however he was received as ſuch, and bid fair to eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne of PERSIA; therefore the CASPIAN traders thought proper again to petition the king for his letter, and his majeſty was pleaſed, for the fourth time, to comply with their requeſt, being about the month of January 1750; but as this letter, the change of name excepted, is almoſt verbatim what was wrote to ADIL SHAH, the reader will excuſe my inſerting it.

That no means ſhould be left untried to obtain a recovery of the loſs which the CASPIAN traders had ſuſtained in PERSIA, the ENGLISH factors in St. PETERSBURG, on the behalf of their principals, united in ſending a perſon of reputation, with orders to act in concert with Mr. RICHARD WILDER in PERSIA, intending to reconcile certain difficulties which had ariſen among the adventurers, and apprehending that by gratifying both parties, there might be a coalition of intereſt; and that this would be the beſt means of preſerving that unanimity, without which a ſolicitation for the recovery would be attended with inſuperable difficulties, ſhould the PERSIANS diſcover any animoſities, or even jealouſies amongſt the ſufferers. With regard to their reſpective loſſes they had now but one common intereſt: but here again we had proof of the great want of regulations, and what perplexities commercial affairs in ASIA are ſubject to, if left free and open; or with the appearance of a body corporate, without the ſubſtance of it.

Laws amongſt CHRISTIANS in EUROPE, as I have already obſerved, differ extremely from MAHOMMEDAN governments, and the frequent violations of juſtice in practice amongſt the latter, renders a more than common vigilance neceſſary to the good conduct of trade. In EUROPE every mar has a right of claim according to the laws of the country he is in, ſuch regard being had at the ſame time to private agreements, or the authority of the conſul of his own nation, as has been found productive of the general good of the whole factory or community: but in ASIA there [illegible] ſome regulations independent of the national government, or a- [illegible] and confuſion inevitably enſue; ſo at leaſt we found it in the [illegible]AN trade.

To

To wave this ungrateful part of our ſtory, I muſt obſerve that the ſucceſs the merchants had at ASTRABAD, the remembrance of the promiſe of ADIL SHAH, the aſſurance that PERSIA abounded in money, likewiſe that SHAHROKH was eſtabliſhed in the government, inclined the factors and merchants to attempt a recovery at the riſk of ſome expence; the antient laws of PERSIA alſo favoured this deſign: however Mr. CHAMBERLIN, who was charged with the king's letter laſt mentioned, found it unneceſſary to proceed any farther than RUSSIA, PERSIA being ſtill torn with inteſtine commotions: but nothing has been yet done, and it may be preſumed that a great part of the INDIAN treaſure is either carried out of PERSIA, or diſſipated in ſuch a manner as to leave no hopes of accompliſhing any recovery.

Theſe diſtractions having continued already for five years: the cultivation of raw ſilk in PERSIA has been alſo much neglected [u]. Many other reaſons concurred to raiſe the price of ſilk, to the prejudice of this nation. Under theſe circumſtances the BRITISH parliament was induced to try if our own plantations could produce this valuable commodity, and accordingly an act was paſſed as follows, in the 23d year of his majeſty's reign, being 1750.

" An act for encouraging the culture of raw ſilk in his majeſty's colonies " or plantations in AMERICA.

" WHEREAS it will greatly tend to the increaſe and improvement of " the ſilk manufactures of this kingdom, to encourage the growth and " culture of ſilk in his majeſty's dominions in AMERICA; may it therefore pleaſe " your majeſty, that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the king's moſt ex- " cellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and " temporal, and commons, in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the autho- " rity of the ſame, that from and after the 24th of June 1750, it ſhall and may be " lawful to import any raw ſilks of the growth and culture of any of his majeſ- " ty's colonies or plantations in AMERICA, directly from thence into the [illegible]t of " LONDON, without paying any ſubſidy, cuſtom, impoſition, or other d[illegible]hat-

[u] The ARMENIANS and RUSSIANS have for ſome years paſt imported [illegible] tent[illegible] uſual quantity.

" ſoever for the ſame; ſo as a due entry be firſt made thereof in the cuſtom-houſe,
" at the time of importation, and in the ſame manner and form (expreſſing the
" package, marks, and numbers, together with the quantities and qualities of the
" reſpective goods) as was uſed and practiſed before the making of this act; and
" ſo as the ſame be landed in the preſence of, and examined by the proper offi-
" cer or officers of the cuſtoms appointed for that purpoſe; and ſo as the ſame be
" imported in ſhips or veſſels, that may lawfully trade to his majeſty's plantati-
" ons, manned as by law is required; and on failure of the ſaid conditions or di-
" rections herein laſt-mentioned, ſuch ſilks ſhall be liable to the payment of the
" reſpective duties, as if this act had never been made.

" Provided always, and be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that
" in order to intitle the importer and importers of raw ſilk, to the exemption in-
" tended by this act, every merchant or other perſon or perſons whatſoever, who
" ſhall, after the 24th of June 1750, load any raw ſilk on board any ſhip or
" veſſel, in any of the BRITISH colonies or plantations in AMERICA, ſhall, before
" the clearing out of the ſaid ſhip or veſſel from thence, make proof, on oath, be-
" fore the collector and comptroller of the cuſtoms, and naval officer, at the port
" or place where ſuch raw ſilk ſhall be put on board, or any two of them, that
" the raw ſilk, which he, ſhe, or they hath or have ſhipped on board the ſaid
" ſhip or veſſel (expreſſing the quantity thereof) is bona fide of the growth and
" culture of ſome or one of the BRITISH colonies or plantations in AMERICA, ex-
" preſſing the pariſh or place in ſuch plantation where the ſame was cultivated
" and produced, and by whom, producing ſuch perſon's oath thereto made be-
" fore the governor of ſuch iſland or province, or before the next juſtice of the
" peace (which oath the ſaid governor or juſtice of the peace, collector and comp-
" troller of the cuſtoms, and naval officer, or any two of them, are hereby re-
" quired and impowered to adminiſter without fee or reward) and the maſter,
" commander, or other perſon, taking charge of the ſhip or veſſel, on board
" which ſuch raw ſilk ſhall be loaded, ſhall alſo bring with him a certificate or
" certificates from ſuch collector and comptroller of the cuſtoms, and naval offi-
" cer, or any two of them, as aforeſaid, under their hands and ſeals of office
" (which certificate or certificates, ſuch collector and comptroller of the cuſtoms,
" and naval officer, are hereby required and directed to grant without fee or re-
" ward) expreſſing the marks, number, tale, and weight of the raw ſilk, in each
" bale, parcel, or other package whatſoever, ſo ſhipped or loaded on board ſuch
" veſſel, with the names, place or places of abode of the exporter or ex-
" porters from the ſaid BRITISH colonies or plantations in AMERICA; and

" the

" the name or names, place or places of abode of ſuch other perſon or perſons, " who ſhall have ſworn the goods therein mentioned to have been of the growth " and culture of the ſaid BRITISH colonies or plantations in AMERICA; and the " name or names of the perſon or perſons to whom the ſame are conſigned in the " port of LONDON; which certificate or certificates, the ſaid maſter, commander, " or other perſon taking charge of ſuch ſhip or veſſel, ſhall, on his arrival in the " ſaid port of LONDON, deliver to the collector, comptroller, or other chief of- " ficer of his majeſty's cuſtoms at the ſaid port, at or before the entry of the ſaid " raw ſilk; and at the ſame time ſhall make oath before any one of them the " ſaid collector, comptroller, or chief officer of his majeſty's cuſtoms (who are " hereby required and impowered to adminiſter the ſame without fee or reward) " that the ſaid bales and parcels, and goods contained in ſuch certificate, are the " ſame bales and parcels, and goods, as were taken on board in the ſaid BRITISH " colonies or plantations in AMERICA; and if any raw ſilk of the growth and " culture of the BRITISH colonies or plantations in AMERICA, ſhall, after the ſaid " 24th day of June 1750, be imported as herein before mentioned, without ſuch " certificate ſigned and delivered as herein before required, and oath made as " before directed, by the maſter, commander, or other perſon taking charge of " the ſhip or veſſel in which the ſame is imported; all ſuch raw ſilks ſhall be li- " able to the payment of the reſpective duties, as if this act had never been " made; any thing herein before contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

" And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any perſon or " perſons ſhall, from and after the ſaid 24th day of June 1750, make, or cauſe " to be made, an entry or entries of any foreign raw ſilk under the name or " deſcription of raw ſilk of the growth or culture of any of the BRITISH colo- " nies or plantations in AMERICA, or ſhall mix, or cauſe to be mixed, any fo- " reign raw ſilk with raw ſilk of the growth or culture of the BRITISH co- " lonies or plantations in AMERICA, with intent to evade the payment of the " duties payable on foreign raw ſilk, every perſon or perſons ſo making, or " cauſing to be made, ſuch entry or entries, or mixing, or cauſing ſuch mix- " ture or mixtures to be made, ſhall forfeit and loſe the ſum of fifty pounds " for every ſuch offence, and all ſuch foreign raw ſilk; and in caſe of any mix- " ture, the quantity ſo mixed, both of foreign and BRITISH plantation [illegible]re " or growth, or the value thereof, together with the bales or other pa[illegible]s " containing the ſame, ſhall be forfeited, and ſhall and may be ſeized and [illegible] " cuted, or the value thereof be ſued for by any officer or [illegible] of his " ty's cuſtoms; one moiety of which penalties and forfeitures ſha[illegible]e to t[illegible]

" of his majeſty, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, and the other moiety to him or them " that ſhall ſeize, proſecute, or ſue for the ſame, in any of his majeſty's courts " of record at WESTMINSTER.

" Provided always, that if any doubt or diſpute ſhall ariſe, whether the ſaid " raw ſilk, or any part thereof, ſo to be imported as aforeſaid, is of the growth " or culture of the BRITISH colonies or plantations in AMERICA, or of foreign " growth or culture, the onus probandi ſhall lie on the owner or claimer thereof, " and not on the informer or proſecutor; any law, cuſtom, or uſage to the con- " trary notwithſtanding.

" And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any action or " ſuit ſhall be commenced againſt any perſon or perſons for any thing done in " purſuance of this act, the defendant or defendants, in ſuch action or ſuit, may " plead the general iſſue, and give this act and the ſpecial matter in evidence at " any trial to be had thereupon, and that the ſame was done in purſuance and by " authority of this act: and if it ſhall appear ſo to have been done, then the ju- " ry ſhall find for the defendant or defendants; and if the plaintiff ſhall be non- " ſuited, or diſcontinue his action, after the defendant or defendants ſhall have " appeared, or if judgement ſhall be given upon any verdict or demurrer againſt " the plaintiff, the defendant or defendants ſhall and may recover treble coſts, " and have the like remedy for the ſame, as defendants have in other caſes by " law."

Such was the encouragement given by the legiſlature, to the culture of raw ſilk in our AMERICAN colonies. An ample ſupply of this commodity however can be brought only from ASIA, unleſs we make ſome very extraordinary improvements. EUROPE during the laſt war did not produce the uſual quantity, nor has the price of ſome particular kinds declined ſince that time: for I apprehend the conſumption of this article rather encreaſes than diminiſhes. The EAST INDIA company therefore having, I preſume, previouſly taken their meaſures, applied to parliament for an alteration of the duty of CHINA ſilk, the obtaining of which affords an encouragement to the importation of it[x]; and no doubt we ſhall have a conſiderable quantity. The act in favour of it in 1750 is as follows.

[x] In 1755 we find accordingly a large ſupply of CHINA raw ſilk arrived.

" An

"An act for repealing the duties payable upon CHINA raw ſilk, and for "granting other duties in lieu thereof.

"WHEREAS the duties now payable upon raw ſilk imported from CHINA "are a great diſcouragement to the importation thereof: and whereas a "a conſtant and plentiful ſupply of that valuable commodity to be manufactured "in this kingdom, will be a publick benefit, and greatly contribute to the in-"creaſe and improvement of the ſilk manufactures: therefore we, your majeſty's "moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of GREAT BRITAIN, being deſirous "to promote and encourage the manufactures of this kingdom, do moſt humbly "beſeech your majeſty, that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the king's "moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritu-"al and temporal, and commons, in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by "the authority of the ſame, that from and after the 24th of June 1750, the "ſeveral rates, duties, ſubſidies, and impoſitions, now payable upon the impor-"tation of raw ſilk of the growth or produce of CHINA, by virtue of ſeveral acts "of parliament now in force, ſhall ceaſe, determine, and be no longer paid.

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that from and after the "ſaid 24th of June, all raw ſilk imported from CHINA into this kingdom by the "united company of merchants of ENGLAND trading to the EAST INDIES, or by "any licence from the ſaid company, ſhall, in lieu of the ſaid rates, duties, ſub-"ſidies, and impoſitions, by this act repealed, as aforeſaid, be charged with, and "pay the ſame rates, duties, ſubſidies, and impoſitions, as are now charged up-"on, and payable for, raw ſilk of the growth or produce of ITALY; which ſaid "rates, duties, ſubſidies, and impoſitions, by this act granted, ſhall be paid by "the ſaid united EAST INDIA company, at the ſame times, and in the ſame man-"ner, as the ſeveral rates, duties, ſubſidies, and impoſitions, by this act repeal-"ed, as aforeſaid, have been paid.

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that the ſeveral rates, "duties, ſubſidies, and impoſitions, by this act granted, ſhall be raiſed, levied, "collected, paid and applied, in ſuch manner, and for the ſame purpoſes, as the "ſaid ſeveral rates, duties, ſubſidies, and impoſitions, by this act repealed as "aforeſaid, are now reſpectively raiſed, levied, collected, paid, and applied "all the proviſions of or in any act or law now in force for raiſing, levying, "lecting, paying, and applying the rates, duties, ſubſidies, and

" by repealed, as aforeſaid, ſhall be in full force, and ſhall be put in execution " for raiſing, levying, collecting, paying, and applying the rates, duties, ſubſi- " dies, and impoſitions, by this act granted, as fully and effectually, to all in- " tents and purpoſes, as if the ſaid proviſions were particularly repeated and re- " enacted in the body of this preſent act.

" And be it further enacted and declared by the authority aforeſaid, that all raw " ſilk of the growth or produce of CHINA, imported after the ſaid 24th of June, " ſhall, upon the exportation thereof from this kingdom, be intitled to and re- " ceive the ſame drawbacks and allowances only, as are now by law directed to " be paid upon the exportation of raw ſilk of the growth or produce of ITALY; " any law or uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding."

CHAP. XXI.

Petition of the RUSSIA *company to the parliament concerning* PERSIAN *ſilk to be purchaſed in* RUSSIA. *Act obtained in conſequence of this petition. Remarks on this act. Reflections on induſtry and labour, and the pernicious conſequences of idleneſs. The fatal cataſtrophe of* JOHN ELTON, *which finiſhes the hiſtory of the* CASPIAN *trade.*

THE RUSSIA company finding themſelves thus excluded a branch of trade, from which they had expected many private as well as national benefits, applied their thoughts how beſt to repair this injury: the moſt natural expedient was to obtain a liberty to buy the ſame commodity in RUSSIA, which they could not any longer provide in the north of PERSIA, at leaſt not to tranſport it through RUSSIA: they might indeed purchaſe ſilk in RUSSIA to tranſport to other countries, but an act of parliament was neceſſary for the importation of it into ENGLAND. Hitherto I have conſidered that part of the RUSSIA company which traded to GHILAN, under the name of CASPIAN traders; little now remains of that commerce but a name: I will not however preſume to alter the title which theſe merchants gave themſelves in the petition which now made to the parliament, for the purpoſe abovementioned.

The

" The petition of the merchants of LONDON trading through RUSSIA
" into PERSIA.

" Sheweth,

" THAT your petitioners did in the year 1741 obtain an act of
" parliament, to enable them to import PERSIAN raw ſilk by the
" way of RUSSIA from PERSIA, if purchaſed there with the produce of
" BRITISH woollens, and other manufactures. Your petitioners having,
" in conſequence of the ſaid act, ſent into PERSIA about 200,000 l. value
" in BRITISH manufactures, and received part of their returns in PERSIAN
" raw ſilk, are now prevented by the many revolutions and fatalities which
" have happened in PERSIA ſince the commencement of this trade. O-
" ther accidents alſo have intervened to obſtruct the deſign as at firſt
" propoſed, his majeſty not having any miniſter at the court of PERSIA,
" to protect our factors, his majeſty's ſubjects, and our effects in that
" country, which gives the RUSSIANS and ARMENIANS very great advan-
" tage over us your petitioners.

" And as the RUSSIANS and ARMENIANS do bring large quantities of
" PERSIAN raw ſilk yearly into RUSSIA, which cannot be purchaſed by
" your petitioners to be ſent into GREAT BRITAIN, the preſent act re-
" ſtraining all imports of PERSIAN commodities but ſuch as are in re-
" turn of goods actually ſold in PERSIA; the raw ſilk in queſtion is there-
" fore carried to HOLLAND by the ARMENIANS, and woollen goods taken
" of the UNITED PROVINCES in return.

" Your petitioners therefore humbly pray, that in order not to loſe ſo
" valuable a branch of trade, as that of importing raw ſilk, a commo-
" dity at this time ſo much wanted, that a clauſe may be annexed to the
" bill now depending, relating to the importation of CHINA raw ſilk,
" to permit your petitioners to import PERSIAN raw ſilk from RUSSIA,
" ſubject to the ſame reſtrictions as they have done from PERSIA the
" way of RUSSIA.

" And your petitioners,

In conſequence of this application the following ſeparate act [y] was obtained, from which ſome happy effects may be felt as ſoon as the PERSIANS are in any capacity to ſend a ſupply of ſilk into RUSSIA: and this will probably be the caſe whenever PERSIA ſhall be reſtored to a ſtate of tranquility.

" An act for permitting raw ſilk of the growth of PERSIA, purchaſed in " RUSSIA, to be imported into this kingdom from any port or place " belonging to RUSSIA.

" WHEREAS by an act made in the fourteenth year of his preſent majeſ-" ty's reign (intituled, an act for opening a trade to and from PERSIA " through RUSSIA) it is (amongſt other things) enacted, that from and after the " 24th day of June 1741, it ſhall and may be lawful to and for any perſon or " perſons, free, or to be free, of the fellowſhip of ENGLISH merchants for diſcovery " of new trades, commonly called the RUSSIA company, excluſive of all others, to " bring and import into this kingdom, in BRITISH built ſhipping, navigated ac-" cording to law, from any port or place of or belonging to the czar or emperor " of RUSSIA, raw ſilk, or any other goods or commodities of the growth, pro-" duce or manufacture of PERSIA (provided ſuch manufacture be made of the " growth or produce of PERSIA) being purchaſed by barter with woollen, or o-" ther manufactures, goods or commodities, exported from GREAT BRITAIN to " RUSSIA, and from thence carried into PERSIA (gold and ſilver in coin or bullion " excepted) or with the produce ariſing from the ſales of ſuch manufactures, " goods, or commodities, ſo exported to RUSSIA, and carried into PERSIA, as " aforeſaid, and not otherwiſe: and it is by the ſaid act alſo further enacted, that " no ſilk, or other produce, commodities, or manufactures of PERSIA, ſhall be " imported into GREAT BRITAIN through RUSSIA, by virtue of the ſaid act, un-" leſs the importer or importers thereof do take an oath, or (being of the people " called QUAKERS) a ſolemn affirmation, before the collector, cuſtomer, or comp-" troller of his majeſty's cuſtoms (who are by the ſaid act impowered to adminiſter " the ſame) at the port or place of importation, that, to the beſt of his or their " knowledge and belief, the ſilk, and other the produce, commodities, or manu-" factures of PERSIA, contained in his or their entry or entries, was or were really " and truly purchaſed by barter with woollen, or other manufactures, goods, or " commodities exported from GREAT BRITAIN to RUSSIA, and from thence car-

[y] In 1750, 23d year of his majeſty's reign.

" ried

" ried into PERSIA (not being gold or ſilver in coin or bullion) or with the produce " ariſing from the ſales of ſuch woollen, or other manufactures, goods, or com- " modities, ſo exported as aforeſaid, and not otherwiſe; and that in default of tak- " ing ſuch oath or affirmation, all ſuch ſilk, or other the produce, commodities, " or manufactures of PERSIA, ſo imported from RUSSIA, ſhall be liable to be ſeiz- " ed and forfeited, in like manner, as if the ſame had been imported contrary to " the act made in the twelfth year of the reign of king CHARLES the ſecond, inti- " tuled, an act for encouraging and encreaſing of ſhipping and navigation: and " whereas, ſoon after the commencement of the ſaid act made in the fourteenth " year of his preſent majeſty's reign, a very beneficial trade between GREAT BRI- " TAIN and PERSIA, through RUSSIA, was opened, by means whereof great quan- " tities of raw ſilk, and other the goods and commodities, of the growth, pro- " duce, or manufacture of PERSIA, were imported into this kingdom, in return " for the woollen and other manufactures, goods, and commodities of GREAT " BRITAIN, upon much eaſier and more advantageous terms than ſuch ſilk, and " other goods and commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of PER- " SIA could have been otherwiſe procured: but whereas the ſaid trade between " GREAT BRITAIN and PERSIA, through RUSSIA, hath been, for ſome time paſt, " interrupted, the ſubjects of GREAT BRITAIN not having been of late permitted " to tranſport BRITISH manufactures, goods, and commodities into PERSIA, " through the dominions or territories of or belonging to the empire of RUSSIA, " in conſequence whereof the importation of raw ſilk, and other commodities of " the growth, produce, or manufacture of PERSIA, from RUSSIA, hath been diſ- " continued: and whereas it would be of great advantage to the trade of this " kingdom in general, as well as contribute to the increaſe and improvement of " the ſilk manufactures in particular, if raw ſilk of the growth or produce of " PERSIA, purchaſed in RUSSIA, were permitted to be imported from any of the " countries, dominions, or territories of the empire of RUSSIA, in return for " woollen and other manufactures exported from GREAT BRITAIN to RUSSIA, al- " though the ſame be not carried from thence into PERSIA; may it therefore pleaſe " your majeſty that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the king's moſt ex- " cellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and " temporal, and commons, in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the au- " thority of the ſame, that from and after the 24th day of December , it " ſhall and may be lawful to and for any perſon or perſons, free or to be made of " the ſaid fellowſhip of ENGLISH merchants for diſcovery of new trades, [illegible] " ly called, the RUSSIA company, excluſive of all others, to bring [illegible]

" to this kingdom, in BRITISH built ſhipping, navigated according to law, from " any port or place within the countries, territories, or dominions of or belong- " ing to the empire of RUSSIA, raw ſilk of the growth or produce of PERSIA, " which ſhall be purchaſed by barter with woollen or other manufactures, goods, " or commodities exported from GREAT BRITAIN to RUSSIA, although the ſame " be not carried from thence into PERSIA, (gold and ſilver in coin or bullion ex- " cepted) or with the produce ariſing from the ſale of ſuch manufactures, goods, " or commodities, exported from GREAT BRITAIN to RUSSIA as aforeſaid, and not " otherwiſe, upon paying, or ſecuring to be paid, the cuſtoms and other duties " now payable for the ſame, by any law now in force, according to ſuch rules, " methods, and directions, and in the ſame manner and form, and with ſuch al- " lowances, abatements, diſcounts, and drawbacks, and under ſuch penalties, " forfeitures, and diſabilities, as are by law preſcribed and practiſed, on the im- " portation of raw ſilk of the growth or produce of PERSIA, imported into this " kingdom from any port or place in the LEVANT ſeas, by any perſon or perſons " free of the LEVANT or TURKEY company; any thing in the ſaid act made in the " fourteenth year of his preſent majeſty's reign, or in the ſaid act made in the " twelfth year of the reign of king CHARLES the ſecond, intituled, an act for en- " couraging and increaſing of ſhipping and navigation, to the contrary notwith- " ſtanding.

" Provided always, and be it further enacted, that no ſilk, of the growth or " produce of PERSIA, ſhall be imported into GREAT BRITAIN, from any of the " countries, dominions, or territories of or belonging to the empire of RUSSIA, " by virtue of this act, unleſs the importer or importers thereof do make oath, " before the collector, cuſtomer, or comptroller of his majeſty's cuſtoms, (who are " hereby impowered and required to adminiſter ſuch oath) at the port or place of " importation, that to the beſt of his or their knowledge and belief, the ſilk con- " tained in his or their entry or entries was really and truly purchaſed by barter " with woollen or other manufactures, goods, or commodities, exported from " GREAT BRITAIN to RUSSIA, (not being gold or ſilver in coin or bullion) or with " the produce ariſing from the ſale of ſuch woollen, or other manufactures, goods, " or commodities, ſo exported as aforeſaid, and not otherwiſe; and in default of " making ſuch oath, all ſuch ſilk ſo imported from any of the countries, domi- " nions or territories of or belonging to the empire of RUSSIA, ſhall be liable to " be ſeized and forfeited, in like manner as if the ſame had been imported con- " trary to the ſaid act, made in the twelfth year of the reign of king CHARLES

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" the ſecond, intituled, an act for encouraging and increaſing of ſhipping and " navigation.

" Provided alſo, that nothing herein contained ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to " extend, to deprive the corporation of the united company of merchants of " ENGLAND trading to the EAST INDIES, of any of the powers, privileges, fran- " chiſes, and benefits which do or ſhall belong to them, or which they could or " might have had and enjoyed in any manner whatſoever, if this act had not been " made; any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

" And be it further enacted, that this act ſhall be deemed a publick act, and " ſhall be judicially taken notice of as ſuch by all judges, juſtices, and other " perſons whatſoever, without ſpecially pleading the ſame."

I preſume it is meant by this act to reſtrain all purchaſes of ſilk in RUSSIA to the produce of PERSIA only, for the words of the act allow no more: but ſilk of the growth of GREECE is ſometimes brought through VALACHIA into the UKRAINE, and from thence tranſported to St. PETERSBURG, but the quality does not anſwer. It may be neceſſary to obſerve that this act has been explained to mean ſilk purchaſed with the produce of BRITISH manufactures at large; for in barter, or with the identical money received for ſuch goods, it is hardly poſſible. This act will very much favour the ARMENIANS, for beſides the encouragement they had to bring ſilk from PERSIA into RUSSIA, either to tranſport into HOLLAND for their own account, or to ſell it in RUSSIA: they may now diſpoſe of it alſo in ENGLAND, and by being naturalized, may alſo import ſuch ſilk into this kingdom for their own account, as one of them has already done. The advantages this bill is calculated to produce are many, for whoever receives the profit of the firſt ſale, the more there is brought to market the cheaper it muſt be to us.

The benefits of the ſilk manufactory muſt ever appear conſidera[illegible]le even upon the moſt ſuperficial view, when it is conſidered that a po[illegible]d of 16 ounces of the plaineſt manufactured ſilk is commonly wort[illegible]5 or 40 ſhillings, and that rich ſilks increaſe in proportion to the greate[illegible] labour which is beſtowed on them. The great pound of 24 o[illegible] coſting 21 ſhillings; the ſmall pound is 14 ſhillings: let us now ſee

profit ariſes from it, and how much it increaſes in value, as it paſſes through the hands of the ſeveral workmen; and here the charge only of throwing the ſmall pound is 5 s, dying, grain colours included, on a medium is 2 s, and winding, weaving, &c. 10 s. ſo that allowing 1 s. for the dying materials, the nation gains 16 s, at leaſt on every pound of ſilk manufactured here and exported abroad, and in ſome articles much more. To inſtance only in one particular, a pair of ſilk gauze ſtockings weighs about 2 ½ ounces of ſilk, which computed as above, is 2 s. 2 d. and 20 per cent. breakage, and other contingencies on the ſilk is leſs than 3 s. and yet the ſtockings ſell for 9, 10, or 12 s. Thus this beneficial branch of commerce gives a ſubſiſtance to the induſtrious artificer, and enriches the nation.

Labour is the parent of wealth, and the nurſe of happineſs: not only our riches, but our ſafety, our liberty, and all our domeſtic joys are founded on this baſis; it gives ſtrength and vigour to the individual, and renders the ſtate firm, proſperous and flouriſhing. The moſt neceſſary productions of the earth are not ſpontaneous; our very mines of lead, tin and coal, demand the aſſiſtance of the laborious hand. Happy were it for us if we had more of the diligent and laborious, and fewer of the idle, eſpecially in the lower claſs, who are ſtill greater prodigies in nature than thoſe, who becauſe they are born to the enjoyment of wealth, give themſelves up to a ſtate of indolence and dull inactivity. If a life ſpent in generous and beneficent actions is the glory and honour of human nature, the community of which we are a part, certainly ought to partake of that generoſity and beneficence. Where is the boaſted ſuperiority of a large fortune if this great end is neglected? and how can this end be ſo effectually anſwered, as by employing the poor? This may ſometimes be difficult in regard to things of real uſe, but ſuch as are calculated merely for employment can never be wanting: thus no one object will be diſtreſſed, nor human nature diſgraced by the pernicious conſequences of idleneſs.

Before I finiſh this account of the CASPIAN commerce, I muſt pay my tribute to the memory of him who was a chief inſtrument in giving birth, and conſequently afforded, during the courſe of fourteen years,

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an occaſion of thoſe various ſcenes which the judicious reader may figure to himſelf, even beyond thoſe which theſe papers repreſent. In the courſe of this narrative I take it for granted that I have given ſeveral indications of the common weakneſs of mankind, I mean a reſentment of injuries: ELTON had many faults, but we ought to remember, that as no character is without vice, there is none without a mixture of virtue alſo; that this virtue might often be called forth to action, and eradicate its mixture of evil qualities, if inſtead of corroding we endeavoured to heal the wounds in our neighbour's good name. Human virtue ſtands on a tottering foundation, and ſubject to be blown down by every guſt of paſſion; and it is an eſtabliſhed maxim that thoſe are in moſt danger of falling, who triumph moſt in their ſtrength. When we come to ſum up the amount of all the various conteſts among men, we muſt allow this to an admonition of the ſoundeſt philoſophy and moſt divine religion; "Re-" member thy end, and let enmity ceaſe." To court that which is ungrateful to us, or to fly from what we love, are hard leſſons; but in many caſes they are eſſential to our happineſs: and this we are ſure of, that the forgiveneſs of injuries is the condition of divine mercy.

The deſire of a good name after death is a great incentive to virtuous actions, and the fear of infamy muſt neceſſarily be a reſtraint upon us in our commerce with the world. As the dead cannot vindicate their own cauſe, men of ſentiments will therefore be tender of exhibiting the dark ſide of the character of thoſe perſons who are now no more; yet, for the reaſon I have juſt given, I think there is more humanity than ſound reaſon in the maxim, "that we ſhould NEVER ſpeak ill of the dead."

Mr. ELTON is dead, and I hope his ſufferings will atone for the errors of his life. The curious reader will now be inquiſitive if in a country rent with civil wars, where the ſon is tearing out the entrails of his father, a man of ELTON's enterprizing genius could make his exit in a natural way? After the deſtruction of NADIR, and his ſucceſſors ADIL SHAH, IBRAHIM MYRZA, and other pretenders to the diadem, ELTON ſtill ſupported himſelf. The PERSIANS at length having no king whom the people thought proper to obey, the elders of GHILAN took the people under their care, in form of an ariſtocracy: it fell to the lot of HAHDGEE S[illegible]

ſame man who was NADIR's agent in RUSSIA for commercial affairs, and HAHDGEE GEMAL, to be ruling lords. This province was not conſiderable enough to ſupport itſelf long; however they levied forces, and determined to oppoſe the invader MAHOMMED HASSAN [z] KHAN. Mr. ELTON, who it is preſumed had a correſpondence with this KHAN, refuſed ſubmiſſion to the two elders, of whoſe good-will towards him he had reaſon to be diſtruſtful; finding alſo that MAHOMMED HASSAN was coming to his relief, he determined, after the example of CHARLES XII. of SWEDEN, at BENDER, to garriſon his houſe and ſtand a ſiege: he had indeed a better ſituation for defence, and a weaker enemy than the king, but not ſtrength ſufficient to hold out long; he therefore capitulated with HAHDGEE GEMAL for the ſafety of his perſon and effects, but the HAHDGEE, like a genuine PERSIAN, regardleſs of his word, ſeized ELTON's effects; and to compleat the villany, condemned him to be hanged. They were leading him to execution when news arrived that SAUN BEG, one of the chief captains of the elder's army, was gone over with all the forces under him, to MAHOMMED HASSAN KHAN; this brought every thing into confuſion on the part of the elders, who were themſelves obliged to fly; but they carried ELTON along with them to FOMIN. It was thought that this change of affairs would create ſome commiſeration in the breaſt of the elders, but they who had been ſuch villains as to commit a breach of faith in the capitulation, were now fired with reſentment, which it is probable was increaſed by thoſe who dreaded ELTON's genius and capacity; at leaſt 'tis certain he became a ſacrifice, and in April 1751 was ſhot to death. Both the HAHDGEES fell afterwards into the hands of the conqueror MAHOMMED HASSAN KHAN, who reſented ELTON's death ſo highly, as to threaten them with the ſame fate.

Thus fell the man whoſe life had been a continued ſcene of adventures, but in nothing ſo important as the ſhare he had in renewing, I might ſay opening this trade, ſo remarkable in all its parts, and attended with ſuch a variety of incidents.

[z] This [illegible] the ſame name as that of the chief of the rebellion of ASTRABAD in 1744, and I believe the ſame perſon.

PART

PART II.

A SUCCINCT VIEW OF THE BRITISH TRADE AND FACTORY, ALSO OF THE RUSSIAN COURT AT ST. PETERSBURG.

CHAP. XXII.

Remarks on the profeſſion of a merchant in general. A ſuccinct view of the BRITISH *factory and trade of St.* PETERSBURG, *with reflections on the want of induſtry. Of the coins, weights and meaſures in* RUSSIA.

THOUGH it is common for mankind to look on the commercial intercourſe of the world, in no other light than as an employment calculated for the ſupport of life, or a means of amaſſing wealth; yet if we extend our thoughts a little farther, and take in the numerous connections and dependencies ariſing from that intercourſe, either at home or abroad, we may eaſily diſcover that it deſerves a high degree of reſpect, ſince it tends to promote all the pleaſures of humanity: and probably from hence it was, that merchants were called THE HONOURABLE OF THE EARTH, when nations were much more ignorant of each other than they are at preſent.

It is true every day's experience proves how dangerous an object money is, becauſe we ſee it ſo often employed more as the inſtrument of vice and immorality than of virtue and true pleaſure; when inſtead of having a rational eſteem for it, as the means of good, we ſuffer it to creep

into the heart and ſpoil the morals. But without entering into the evils ariſing from an inordinate love of money, the merchant whoſe mind is ſtrong enough to purſue gain without indulging any anxious fears, and without forgetting the more eſſential duties of life, is in a happy employment, was it only for this reaſon, that there are but few callings ſo free and independent. "Guilt indeed ſticks very cloſe to buying and ſelling, as cloſe as the nail which is driven between two ſtones;" ſo it was thought by a very wiſe man about two thouſand years ago, and I am afraid the caſe is not altered for the better. I have heard that the GREEK ſtates of old were ſenſible of this, and excluded merchants from all public employments[a], upon a ſuppoſition that their profeſſion was not conſiſtent with that dignity and inflexible integrity which they thought eſſential to the character of a magiſtrate. Perhaps the general corruption of manners in after-ages, might have at length determined thoſe ſtates to admit of merchants in common with men of other profeſſions. Every condition of life is expoſed to temptations peculiar to it, and I think it is more eaſy for a merchant religiouſly to obſerve the laws of juſtice, than for a ſoldier, whoſe duty bids him ſpill another man's blood, to purſue without anger or revenge, and to kill without cruelty; or for a lawyer to forſake the glittering fee, and procure a diſpatch of the cauſe of his client at the hazard of his own ſupport.

It is a common obſervation that people are to be known only by ſocial intercourſe, and indeed it ought in all reaſon to be preſumed that this is the beſt means of arriving to a real knowledge of characters, and of learning how far perſons may be mentioned with honour, without deviating from truth: but on the other hand it is perhaps one of the moſt difficult taſks to be intirely impartial with reſpect to thoſe with whom we have ſupported a good correſpondency for a courſe of years. Prejudices will naturally ariſe in the mind, and ſome of theſe are rather amiable than odious. Theſe general remarks may ſerve as a preface to the mention I am going to make concerning ſome of my particular friends. The BRITISH factors in St. PETERSBURG are generally well eſteemed by

[a] Ariſtot. polit.

years

the natives of RUSSIA, and acquire fortunes which ſome of them of late years have been wiſe enough to preſerve. They inhabit the beſt houſes on the banks of the NEVA, and are hoſpitable, not to ſay magnificent in their way of life, keeping pace with the luxury of men of ſuperior fortunes at home; but the reader who has not been abroad, muſt obſerve that the BRITISH factories in general make a better figure than thoſe of any other nation, which may be conſidered as a ſort of compenſation for the voluntary baniſhment which they ſuffer from the beſt of countries in the world. This indeed may ſometimes be a means of prolonging that baniſhment, and of creating a fondneſs to a foreign country, in prejudice of the love which they ought to have for their own; however this generous way of life gives them an influence and aſcendency in the countries where they reſide, and helps to ſupport the national intereſt and honour.

The BRITISH factors in St. PETERSBURG, as may be obſerved in all ſmall ſocieties, contribute much to each other's amuſement, and are now become ſober and virtuous, as well as more elegant in manners than in times paſt, when they were debauched and low in their pleaſures; and though calumny and detraction ſeem to be the more peculiar growth of ſuch ſocieties, it does not reign amongſt them in any remarkable degree: the claſhing of intereſts, and the corruption of manners, which the pecuniary affairs of the world generally create, is very apt to exclude the pleaſures of friendſhip, pleaſures which cannot be bought with gold. I thank providence it was my fortune in RUSSIA to enjoy theſe alſo, in my much honoured friend Mr. GEORGE PETERS, one of the moſt conſiderable factors in that city.

I ſhall now make a few general remarks in regard to the commercial intereſt of RUSSIA. The productions of the earth, and foreign trade are acknowledged to be the great ſources from whence the riches of every nation proceed: RUSSIA has made great ſtrides in the improvement of her commerce for ſeveral years paſt, enjoying ſome advantages beyond any other nation: the number and greatneſs of her rivers open a communication almoſt to every part of the globe, but particularly within her own extended dominions.

nions. As to timber, hemp, and iron, which are the inſtrumental cauſes of trade; no country in the world produces a greater quantity, which is a natural conſequence of the cheapneſs of land and labour: the former of theſe GREAT BRITAIN enjoys in her AMERICAN dominions, though not the latter; but if we have occaſion for the commodities of RUSSIA, that empire has the great ſource of her revenues in the trade which this iſland carries on with her ſubjects.

Hemp, which 20 years ſince was hardly worth five rubles the BERQUEVITZ[a], of late years has been about twice that value; the increaſe of ſilver makes money every year leſs valuable: as they can afford this article in St. PETERSBURG at 6 or 7 rubles, they will certainly bring enough of it to market ſo long as they can obtain 8 or 9. Iron is alſo a very improveable article; they have both wood, hands and oar in SIBERIA ſufficient to make a quantity, which would depreciate the value of the SWEDISH iron, raiſe their rivalſhip and competition with the SWEDES[b] in this important article of the revenues of that nation, and at the ſame time greatly augment thoſe of the RUSSIAN empire. But by a certain fatality which prevails in every country in ſome inſtance or other, the RUSSIAN government for a courſe of years has preferred a profit of about 15,000 l. on 5000 tuns, to near twice that advantage which they might have had to all appearance, though the price ſhould have been reduced, had the quantity been more than doubly augmented. The great difficulty was, in whoſe hands to lodge an increaſe of power in that diſtant country, SIBERIA. It is not 40 years ſince the RUSSIANS began to open iron mines, and yet in the year 1750 they exported 20,000 tuns: the ordinary annual export may now be called 12 or 15,000 tuns, which is ſo much more in favour of the RUSSIANS, as the SWEDISH forges, for theſe few years paſt, have not produced ſo much by one third as formerly.

The encouragement given to our AMERICAN colonies in regard to iron, has produced ſome good effects, the quantity of pig iron imported from thence being encreaſed; and as there is no want in that country of oar or

[a] Or 6 l. per tun firſt coſt in St. PETERSBURG. [b] The queſtion is, whether with regard to the ballance of power in the north, the SWEDES are not poor enough in all conſcience.

wood

wood to work it up, it ought to be preſumed that we might make a conſiderable progreſs towards equalling our EUROPEAN neighbours. In ENGLAND it is true the quantity made does not fall ſhort of 10,000 tuns, which is a vaſt object conſidering the ſcarcity of wood. What a field for freſh employment would not this iſland open, if all the waſte lands were planted with whatever kind of wood might be moſt welcome to the ſoil; and if our rivers were in general made more navigable for the tranſportation of ſuch wood, would not this enlarge the ſcene of commerce, and afford advantages in almoſt every ſhape? In AMERICA we want people[c]: there are then two countries, and a branch of commerce of great extent, with numerous appendages to employ the poor, to baniſh idleneſs the root of all evil, and to encreaſe the riches of the nation. By this means the heavy tax for the poor's rates alſo might be alleviated; for of thoſe who are ſupported by charity, numbers certainly are capable of work. We do not ſeem to want knowledge, but induſtry is not known to many thouſands, as the ſtreets and the gallows give daily proof. In caſes of this nature mercy is cruelty, for he who can work and will not, but lives on the induſtry of others, is next to him who deprives the induſtrious of the fruits of their labour by violence. If leſs indulgence was ſhown the poor, who upon examination are found capable of labour, and methods for their employment at the ſame time propoſed to them, the evils we now ſuffer muſt gradually decreaſe. We are liberal in ſubſcriptions of every kind of charity: ſuppoſing a ſubſcription was on foot for cultivating certain lands, to be obtained by purchaſe or grant under certain conditions, planting of others, making certain rivers navigable, and the like: ſuppoſing alſo men of great fortunes were to appropriate a certain ſhare of their large revenues to ſuch works within their own property, further employment might be yet found in this iſland, ſmall as it is, for a great number of people.

The ordinary computation of the RUSSIAN general export from ST. PETERSBURG is three millions[d], of which the BRITISH ſubjects in RUS-

[c] The ſame complaint is made at home; why then does not the government diſcountenance the uſe of ſpirituous liquors, and give ſome encouragement to matrimony among the working poor?

[d] In 1750, the exports were four millions of rubles, or 880,000 l. value.

SIA.

SIA take off two, conſiſting chiefly in hemp, flax, iron, hog's briſtles, hare ſkins, hempen and flaxen manufactures, RUSSIA leather, and other articles. The ordinary imports of the RUSSIANS were two millions, conſiſting in indigo, cochineal, lead, pewter, tin, wrought ſilks, gold and ſilver lace, toys, cotton and linnen manufactures, woollens and wines. The RUSSIANS receive the ballance in their favour in ſilver and gold, of which part is a ſum of about 500,000 ſilver rixdollars, of the coin of the UNITED PROVINCES; theſe do not however paſs current in RUSSIA, but the duties on goods muſt be paid in them at a certain rate, according to weight. The conſumption of the RUSSIANS is ſo far increaſed with their acquiſitions by commerce, that they import now more than uſual, but the ENGLISH have ſtill above a million ballance againſt them.

It ſeems to be a maxim eſtabliſhed in all countries where commerce has made any progreſs, that the value of exports muſt exceed that of the imports, for otherwiſe the ballance muſt neceſſarily be paid in money: againſt this the RUSSIANS have taken the precaution of making it death to export their coin; nor is any plate or bullion exportable without expreſs permiſſion. I have already obſerved that in countries poſſeſſed of ſilver or gold mines, money may be conſidered as a commodity; but even in theſe countries we do not find ſuch great wealth as where the only reſource is in the induſtry of numbers of working people, and in thoſe productions of the earth, which being eſſential to the ſupport of mankind, are really more intrinſically worth than ſilver, gold, or precious ſtones.

When a people are deſirous of foreign productions, and eſpecially articles of luxury, if they do not exert themſelves to pay for ſuch commodities by their labour, and the produce of their own lands, they muſt be impoveriſhed, and in danger of ruin. The augmentation of the revenues of RUSSIA, which I ſhall have occaſion to mention, ought to be imputed in a great meaſure to the increaſe of her trade for ſome years paſt; and the increaſe of her national wealth to the great annual ballance in her favour, of one million of rubles[d]. Under arbitrary governments there wants nothing but the conſent of the ſovereign to eſtabliſh a ſump-

[d] 220,000 l.

tuary

tuary law; and even in limited monarchies, the example of a king can work ſurpriſing things: in countries where people begin to ſhow a great paſſion for a vain and luxurious life, the more early ſuch a law takes place, the more eaſy they will find the reſtraint,

The interior trade of RUSSIA is certainly very much augmented, and the commerce they carry on with the TARTARS and other frontier nations, is a conſiderable object; as RUSSIA ſometimes receives a large quantity of foreign ſilver and gold from thoſe nations, in exchange either for her own or foreign productions. I will not undertake from an impulſe of my good wiſhes, to determine what articles RUSSIA ſhould be cautious of importing; but thoſe of the produce of GREAT BRITAIN are either eſſentially neceſſary to her, or ſuch as ſhe can never ſuffer by: I ſpeak not of the major part of them, for I think not one article, EVEN OUR ALE, but tends to the good of the RUSSIANS; not to mention the great advantages to RUSSIA of the RIGA and NARVA trade with GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND. As our RUSSIAN trade is well conducted, I ſhall paſs it over, obſerving only that in whatever light it is conſidered, it ought to be a means of eſtabliſhing a perpetual friendſhip between this nation and the RUSSIAN empire. I ſhall now conclude this chapter with a ſuccinct account of the RUSSIAN coins, weights, and meaſures.

It is remarkable that when the RUSSIAN trade began to flouriſh, and for ſome time after, their ruble, which was intrinſically worth no more than 39 current ſtivers of HOLLAND, was eſtimated on exchange at 70 current ſtivers, and the price of their commodities regulated accordingly in the merchants calculation of them: at length it was reduced to 50, and from 45 to 50 it has ſtood for many years. The RUSSIAN ruble has too conſiderable an alloy to encourage the exportation, but it is not ſo baſe as to induce any piratical traders to bring falſe coin into the country: I ſpeak of the ſilver money. But by an error in politics in a late reign, the want of money induced the government to make a copper coin of 5 copeeks value, which was not intrinſically worth 2; the conſequence of which was, that ſome millions of this coin was run in upon them

them, particularly by the JEWS of POLAND; ſo that at length, in the year 1744, 45 and 46, the government wiſely reduced the value each year a copeek, and it now ſtands at 2 copeeks. They keep accounts in rubles and copeeks, 100 copeeks to a ruble [e], and their old way of reckoning yet in the greateſt uſe, as it is in ſome parts of GERMANY, is with beads on wires, which they work without pen and ink.

The ruble, which is the principal coin, is alſo divided into halves, quarters, and tenths, which laſt they call greevens: they had formerly ſilver copeek pieces, but theſe were too intrinſically good to continue long in the country, and were at length called in. They have a gold coin of 2 rubles value, but not in abundance; alſo ducats of the preſent EMPRESS's coin which vary in price, but are never under 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ rubles. In copper they have, beſides the 2 copeeks already mentioned, deniſhkas, or half a copeek, and poluſhkas, or quarters.

THEIR DRY MEASURE IS

4 Wocemik	— — —	1 chetwerit = $\frac{3}{4}$ of an ENGLISH pack.
8 Chetwerits	— — —	1 chetworth ordinarily, computed = to 23 to 24 pecks, or 6 buſhels ENGLISH.

LIQUID MEASURE.

3 Kruſhquas	— — —	1 wedro—13 ENGLISH quarts.
1½ Wedros	— — —	1 ſtakan [f].
2 Stakans	— — —	1 anchor.
6 Anchors	— — —	1 hogſhead.

WEIGHTS.

1 Zalotnick	— — —	= 2 dwts. 17 grains ¾ ENGLISH.
3 Dittos	— — — —	1 lote.
32 Lotes	— — — —	1 pound.

[e] Which I have already mentioned to be worth about 4 s. 3 d.

[f] Stakan in the common uſe of the word ſignifies a glaſs.

40 Pounds

40 Pounds — — — — 1 pood, 36 lbs. ditto.
10 Poods — — — — 1 berquewitz.
63 Poods — — — — 1 tun ditto.

But the ENGLISH hundred generally comes net to 123 ½ RUSSIAN pounds.

CHAP. XXIII.

The heads of ſeveral remarkable events in RUSSIA. *A ſhort account of the city and court of St.* PETERSBURG *in general, alſo of ſome of the great perſonages who compoſe it. Modern taſte of building in* RUSSIA.

NOTHING is more common than to be ignorant of that which we have had a good opportunity of learning, but particularly in the inſtance of an accurate inquiry into things relating to a place which a man conſiders as his home. I was five years in RUSSIA, and yet except in mercantile affairs, which I do not think neceſſary to mention further, I am not qualified to relate half ſo much as I have ſaid of PERSIA, nor did it fall ſo much into my taſte. When we are confined to a ſpot, curioſity naturally flags; or if we are undiſtinguiſhed in the croud, there is ſeldom that ambition which impels our deſires after knowledge: beſides the pleaſures and buſineſs of life engroſſed ſuch a ſhare of my time, as admitted not any deep inquiries, and as I was not on a journey, I kept no journal.

With regard to RUSSIA at large, the ſeveral modern hiſtories and accounts of it would alſo render my labour of little uſe. The moſt remarkable events which happened there, from the time of my arrival till I left it, was the peace with SWEDEN; the marriage of the great duke; the defeat of FRENCH intrigues; the alliance with GREAT BRITAIN, the empreſs of GERMANY, and the ſtates of the UNITED PROVINCES; the march of the RUSSIAN forces to the aſſiſtance of the allies; and laſtly, the downfal of count LESTOCK; of which events I ſhould not chuſe to give a ſecret hiſtory, if I knew more than what the gazettes relate. The court

of St. PERERSBURG has long enjoyed the reputation of being one of the moſt brilliant in EUROPE, but I cannot ſay whether it be now exactly true. In the reign of the late empreſs ANN, the countenance which foreigners received, added much to the ſplendid appearance of the court, and no doubt ſomething to the politeneſs of it. Rich cloaths are ſtill the paſſion of the RUSSIANS, and though ſumptuary laws have been often talked of, and ſaid to be eſſential to the good of the ſtate, and have even been at certain times carried into execution; yet ſome incident or other ſtill made a pompous appearance neceſſary, or agreeable to the ſovereign.

There are ſome courts in EUROPE which ſeem to adopt this as a principle, that the more money courtiers ſpend, the leſs will be their riches, and conſequently the greater their dependance[g]. In ENGLAND we think the richer the ſubjects, the more able, and conſequently it may be preſumed, the more willing they are to ſerve the ſtate. Of all the pompous ſhows in RUSSIA, the appearance made upon the great duke's marriage, in cloaths and equipage, was the moſt magnificent, and anſwered the higheſt idea that can well be formed of the ſplendor of any court[h]. A man may travel over the world during a long life, without ſeeing any thing comparable to it: it was in general very grand, and elegantly conducted, but part of it was demonſtrative of a very whimſical turn in one of the grandees, monſieur NARISKIN, whom I have mentioned as miniſter at the BRITISH court in 1743, and now under-marſhal to the EMPRESS; he had a coach in a groteſque taſte, the back and front as well as the ſides of which were of looking-glaſs. But it is not in external embelliſhments only for which the RUSSIANS begin to diſtinguiſh themſelves: two poets have lately ſtarted up as it were from a ſtate of darkneſs, and wrote tragedies according to the modern dramatic rules: they have alſo tranſlated lord ANSON's voyage, TELEMACHUS, and ſeveral other books into the RUSSIAN language, and bid fair to ſhine as bright as ſo northern a hemiſphere can be yet ſuppoſed to admit.

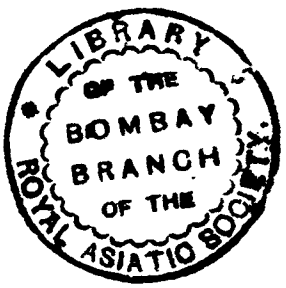
[g] See remark in vol. I. p. 254. [h] For a particular deſcription of this ceremony, I refer the reader to the periodical memoirs of thoſe times.

With

Amiconi delin.

Ant.s Walker sculpsit.

The Empress of Russia 1749.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With regard to the great perſonages in RUSSIA, the empreſs ELIZABETH PETROWNA, daughter of PETER the GREAT, by his empreſs CATHERINE, was born the 29th of December 1709, and began her reign the 6th of December 1741, being reſtored to the throne on which her father ſat, by a revolution in many inſtances amazing, and of which the hiſtorians of our age have doubtleſs preſerved the memory. This is one of the moſt accompliſhed ladies of her rank, nor was her perſon leſs amiable: time, which wears off the charms of youth, has rendered her corpulent, but ſhe is yet very active, dances, hunts, and rides on horſeback: on certain days ſhe appears in men's cloaths, particularly on the day of her acceſſion to the throne, when ſhe treats her life-company of grenadiers at ſupper in the grand ſaloon of the palace, and ſits at table with her officers, in regimentals as their colonel, in which ſhe makes an agreeable figure. This company, for ſtature, comelineſs, and the elegance of their dreſs, is hardly exceeded by any troops in EUROPE. The EMPRESS is in every inſtance gracious to an extreme: the great tenderneſs of her heart, or ſome other cauſe, has even forbid the execution of malefactors of whatever denomination, ſo that it is ſaid there have been in different parts of the empire near 30,000 criminals in priſon at one and the ſame time; but this, among many good actions, is a ſpecies of mercy which neither her ſubjects nor foreigners pretend to underſtand.

Cloſe to the admiralty, where ſhips of war are built, is a magnificent palace, ſituated near the center of the city on the ſouth bank of the NEVA; and in the eaſtern part is the ſummer palace and garden, abounding in choice ſtatues and delicious walks; yet being a dead flat, it can produce but little variety. The theatre which was a very large edifice of wood, was lately burnt down, and another ſmaller near the ſummer palace is built: here ITALIAN operas and FRENCH comedies are acted at the expence of the EMPRESS, into which foreigners who make any appearance, are admitted: the operas were reviſed and ſometimes compoſed by ſignior BONECHI, the poet laureat, a man whoſe politeneſs and goodneſs of heart render him very amiable, and to whom I am much obliged[1]: maſque-

[1] He is now a counſellor of ſtate in FLORENCE.

rades, balls and concerts are alſo frequent at court; but the EMPRESS ſeems to delight chiefly in ſelect companies at the houſes of thoſe perſons who are moſt in her favour.

This lady wears the order of St. ANDREW, which is a blue ribbon: the number of knights of this order are reckoned 24, but it is not always full: ſome of the perſons who now enjoy it are, the great duke of RUSSIA, count ROSAMOFFSKY the grand veneur, count [k] BESTUCHEFF RUMIN the great chancellor, SHEPELOFF the head marſhal of the court, general APRAXIN, who is at the head of military affairs, baron MUNICH a brother of the exile, the attorney general TRUBETSKOI; beſides theſe are the kings of DENMARK, PRUSSIA and POLAND, prince AUGUSTUS of HOLSTEIN, baron BRETLACH the emperor's embaſſador, and baron CEDRENCRUTZ the SWEDISH miniſter; feldt-marſhal KEITH has alſo this ribbon.

There is an order in RUSSIA inferior to this, called St. ALEXANDER, the number of which is 36 knights, who wear a red ribbon; there is alſo an order of St. ANN of HOLSTEIN, which is red ſtriped with yellow; and another of St. CATHERINE's, which is red with a ſilver edge, intended only for women. The great dutcheſs of RUSSIA is the chief of this order, and it is worn by ſeveral great ladies in GERMANY. The firſt ſubject in this empire is PETER FEODOROWITZ the great duke of RUSSIA, appointed by the EMPRESS the heir of the RUSSIAN dominions, from the 18th of November 1743; his father CHARLES FREDERICK duke of HOLSTEIN, was married to ANNA PETROWNA, the eldeſt ſiſter of the preſent empreſs of RUSSIA; the great duke was born the 22d of February 1728, and has reigned as duke of HOLSTEIN GOTTORP ſince 1739. In conſequence of his grandmother on his father's ſide, being ſiſter to CHARLES XII. of SWEDEN, he was the preſumptive heir of that crown; but he declined it, and making profeſſion of the GREEK religion, accepted the ſucceſſion of the RUSSIAN empire. He was married the 1ſt of September 1745, to CATHERINE ALEXIEWNA, born the 2d of May 1729, daughter of CHRISTIAN AUGUSTUS prince of ANHALT-ZERBST. This

[k] They uſe the GERMAN title GRAFF, but in ENGLISH we call them counts.

marriage

G. C. Grooth Pinxt. And. Walker Sculp. 1752.

The Great Duke of Ruſsia 1749.

marriage has not yet produced thoſe happy effects which were naturally expected from it. His imperial highneſs is reputed a young man of ſpirit and vivacity, with a taſte for polite ſtudy, and endowed with ſweet accompliſhments.

The ſtature and gentle deportment of the great dutcheſs increaſe the charms of her perſon, in which nature has been liberal, and nothing renders the character of the duke and his dutcheſs more lovely than the harmony and mutual affection which ſubſiſts between them.

The next ſubject in dignity is the count ROZAMOWSKY, the grand veneur, who enjoys all the ſweets without the fatigues of grandeur or the odium often annexed to the moſt important offices in a ſtate. The behaviour of this nobleman has rendered him acceptable to moſt kinds of people. His brother the young count GRIGORII KIRILITZ ROZAMOWSKI, who was preſident of the royal academy, is now hetman of the COSSACKS in the UKRAINE, of which both himſelf and the grand veneur are natives. This is a kind of vice-royalty, and is incomparably the moſt lucrative of any employment in the empire: it is not however always the moſt ſecure, eſpecially when the aſſiſtance of thoſe troops is required in caſe of war.

Among the ladies of the court there are none ſo diſtinguiſhed as ANNA CAROLOWNA the counteſs of VORONZOFF, who travelled with her huſband the count, a few years ſince, to ſeveral courts, as PARIS, NAPLES, ROME, VIENNA and BERLIN, where her polite carriage and accompliſhments, as well as her perſonal beauty were very much admired. Women in general are not ſo amiable in RUSSIA as in many other countries: indeed they daub themſelves ſo much with artificial charms, as to conceal thoſe graces which it may be preſumed nature has beſtowed on them, though they are rendered inviſible. In general they profeſs that if nature gives them ſufficient plumpneſs, they can procure beauty themſelves: and to this purpoſe we may obſerve from the very idiom of their language, that CRASNA DEVITZA, which literally ſignifies a red virgin, is the term for a pretty girl. Although it has been obſerved,

that

that very cold climates produce the ſame diſpoſition to amour as very hot ones, yet this does not appear to be intirely the caſe in RUSSIA. Chaſtity as a virtue, is not indeed more in repute in this country than in the ſouthern parts of EUROPE; but it ſeems as if the ſame cauſes in nature, which reſtrain them from a fierce reſentment of the illegal commerce of the ſexes, check, in ſome meaſure, their eager deſire of ſuch gratifications. As the RUSSIANS are not ſo refined in their manners, as to have a very delicate ſenſe of honour; ſo we find that the chaſtiſement of female infidelity is ſeldom carried beyond a beating, whilſt the adulterer generally may compromiſe for his offence by a pecuniary mulct. Among the common people, the eccleſiaſtical laws oblige a man to marry a woman whom he has debauched. The common-place notion which prevails among the libertine part of mankind, "that women in all countries "are the ſame[1]," upon a compariſon of different people, ſeems juſt as abſurd as if we were to ſay, that men of all nations are the ſame. Perhaps upon enquiry it may be found, that there are more women of principles in ſome countries, than there are men of principles in others.

The RUSSIANS are for the moſt part of a middle ſtature, though many of them are tall and comely. The common people incline to their antient cuſtoms; and though the majory ſubmit to modern improvements, many chuſe to ſuffer great inconveniencies and additional taxes rather than forſake their beards, and ſome idle diſtinctions with regard to religion.

The great chancellor count BESTUCHEFF, in conjunction with the vice chancellor count VORONZOFF, have the charge of the foreign affairs, and are both eſteemed men of great worth and probity: the college of foreign affairs is under their inſpection, and theſe with the ſenate, which is compoſed of twelve ſenators, are the chief managers in the government of this vaſt empire; the colleges of war, commerce, mines, &c. being ſubordinate.

[1] The contemptuous opinion in which MAHOMMEDANS hold women, has induced them to adopt this notion. See vol. I. p. 268. But among CHRISTIANS thoſe who ſeriouſly advance this doctrine may alſo maintain that "prieſts of all religions are the ſame;" and the next ſtep is, that virtue and vice are the ſame.

Eccle-

Eccleſiaſtical affairs are governed by the ſynod, which has now more authority and weight than in ſome former reigns: the EMPRESS, whoſe power is abſolute, having given great demonſtrations of her diſpoſition to devotion. The GREEK faith is known to be the eſtabliſhed religion in this country, which differs from the ROMISH in many eſſentials, ſuch as denying the authority of the pope, permitting prieſts to marry [m], giving the ſacrament in both kinds, and believing in conſubſtantiation: they uſe images, and pay divine honours to the virgin MARY and to ſaints; but the majority of the courtiers, and men of education, here as in moſt other places, have certain religious tenets of their own, and ſeem to think for themſelves.

St. PETERSBURG, which was founded by PETER the GREAT in the beginning of this century, may at preſent be conſidered as the modern and polite metropolis, and the chief reſidence of the RUSSIAN empire; and though ſo lately a moraſs, it is now an elegant and ſuperb city, very healthful, and abounding in all the neceſſaries, and many of the pleaſures of life. It was formerly built of wood, but now the uſe of this material is permitted only in the ſuburbs.

This city is ranged on both ſides of the NEVA, extending from eaſt to weſt near two ENGLISH miles; at the upper end of the north ſide is the citadel, which is more famous for the number of lives it coſt in building than for either its ſtrength or great importance, though it has ſeveral uſes. It contains a ſtately church, in which the remains of its founder PETER the GREAT, and his empreſs CATHERINE, are depoſited. It alſo ſerves to beautify the town, and as a priſon for offenders againſt the ſtate. This city has neither gates nor walls, but the marſhy land near it, both in INGRIA to the ſouth, and FINLAND and CARELIA to the north, and the gulph of FINLAND to the eaſt, render the acceſs to it extremely difficult for an army. It is divided by ſeveral canals, PETER the GREAT intending to take AMSTERDAM as his model in building it; but from the reluctance with which it was originally begun by his ſubjects, who

[m] But they are permitted to marry but once, ſo that the wives of prieſts are generally well treated.

were

were compelled to build, and likewiſe from errors in the plan, ſome part of the city remains intirely unexecuted, and in others the houſes are too near the canals. This does not hinder, but there are ſome regular, broad, and well built ſtreets, and ſeveral very noble ſtructures, particularly the great chancellor's, the vice chancellor's, the marſhal SHEPELOFF's, the ſenator SHEVALLOFF's, count CHEREMOTEFF's, count GALLOWIN's, and ſome others of leſs note.

The encouragement which the EMPRESS has given to building, for which ſhe ſeems to have a paſſion, contributes to the beauty of the city. Beſides the two royal palaces already mentioned, this lady has built a noble palace, ſaid to be intended for the great duke, in caſe he had been ſo happy as to have children. There is alſo a nunnery lately built; and about fifteen ENGLISH miles diſtant from the city at CZARSKO ZELO, is a royal palace. Theſe edifices are for the moſt part of brick, and plaiſtered over ſo as to make an elegant appearance; but the work is generally done in a hurry, and the materials not very durable. An ITALIAN architect having been ſome years ſince eſtabliſhed in RUSSIA, the taſte of ITALY is adopted in almoſt all their houſes; and though the ſeverity of the climate is ſo great, they abound in windows much beyond our houſes in ENGLAND. As a further additional beauty to this city, the EMPRESS has cauſed a large equeſtrian ſtatue of PETER the GREAT in metal, to be made under the care of the ingenious and much eſteemed count ROSTRELLI, intending to erect it on a pedeſtal in the area before the palace, in pious memory of her father.

CHAP. XXIV.

A view of the revenues, number of inhabitants, taxes, military force and genius of the ſoldiery in RUSSIA. *A ſuccinct account of the nature of the climate, alſo of the ſtoves and kind of dreſs uſed in that country.*

THE revenues of the RUSSIAN empire, which were formerly of five millions only, are now encreaſed to 15 millions of rubles[n],

[n] Three millions ſterling.

and

and are yet improvable without diſtreſſing the ſubject. Theſe may be computed to ariſe from the pole tax of 75 copeeks a head, on 8,750,000 male ſubjects. The boyar, or lord, receives of his boors about 120 copeeks [o] each head male, according to the goodneſs of the eſtate: ſome bring in yet more conſiderably, and others cannot ſupport themſelves. The lord has alſo a certain number of them to work for him, but he pays the tax due to the crown on all his vaſſals, and after a reviſion is made, the ſame tax continues whatever mortality may ſucceed till a further reviſion takes place. The CIRCASSIANS who inhabit the UKRAINE pay but $\frac{1}{4}$ ruble a head. The cuſtoms in St. PETERSBURG, RIGA, NARVA and ARCHANGEL, produce above a million of rubles; and the monopoly of ſalt, pot-aſh, rhubarb, ſpirituous liquors, with the produce of the government's iron mines in SIBERIA, the CHINA trade, and inland duties conſtitute the remainder. This ſum of 3 millions ſterling, which we have learnt in GREAT BRITAIN the art of ſwallowing in three or four months campaign, anſwers the exigencies of the RUSSIAN ſtate, and makes them courted by their friends, and dreaded by their enemies: nor is it ſtrange if one conſiders that the pay of a major-general in RUSSIA is not above 3,600 rubles a year [p], a commandant or brigadier 1,800, a colonel 800, a major 400, a captain 180, a lieutenant 120, and a common ſoldier 6. [*] They are ſaid to have at leaſt 250,000 regulars, including garriſons of 70,000; and ſuppoſing a third part of them cloathed annually, and giving them their allowance of ſalt, croop [q], and bread, their pay will hardly exceed 30 rubles [r] a man, officers included; and conſequently this formidable force coſts only 7,500,000 rubles [s], which does not take up half the national income. The collection of the revenues, which is ſo vaſt an expence in ENGLAND, is a very inconſiderable charge to the RUSSIAN government, their collectors being moſtly paid by the perquiſites annexed to their employments; from hence it is eaſy to reconcile how indiſpenſably neceſſary preſents are in RUSSIA in tranſacting buſineſs with any of the public departments, though I muſt own my opinion, that perquiſites tend to the ruin of empires.

[*] 1 $\frac{1}{5}$ ruble, or 5 s. 1 d. [p] 750 l. [q] A ſpecies of meal. [r] 61. 10 s. [s] 1,575,000 l.

The number of ſouls in St. PETERSBURG are generally computed at 250,000, including the garriſon, which is numerous; but in reckoning the ſubjects throughout the whole empire, they lay it down as a rule, that the hundred and ſeventy fifth male raiſes an army of near 50,000 men, and conſequently ſuppoſing an equal number of females, the whole may be reckoned 17,500,000 ſouls: the tributary TARTARS, the RUSSIAN UKRAIN [t], and the conquered provinces [u], are not included in this account; if we conſider the vaſt extent of that empire, though many parts are not inhabited, is is probable this number is near the truth. As to the UKRAIN, I have been aſſured that one eſtate in that country [w] contained 16,000 acres of arable, and 9000 of paſture land.

Beſides the ordinary computation of 250,000 regulars, the RUSSIANS can collect a body of 40,000, or more, of KHALMUCKS, COSSACKS, and other TARTARS. In the laſt TURKISH war I have been aſſured that RUSSIA had above 300,000 troops in pay; ſo that with their own money at home, or in foreign pay when abroad in foreign ſervice [x], ſo long as theſe people train up a number of good officers, they muſt have great weight in the political ſcale in EUROPE, as well as in ASIA. They bear the extremities of cold and heat, hunger and thirſt; and when well conducted to the charge, have generally ſhewn great intrepidity. Being provoked by long reſiſtance, they are apt to be cruel when conquerors, of which I have heard ſeveral ſtories from thoſe who ſerved in the laſt TURKISH war.

With regard to the climate of RUSSIA, it is eaſy to conceive how extremely it differs, even in the ſeveral parts of it included in EUROPE, and ſtill more in their ASIATIC dominions. In St. PETERSBURG we find that February generally brings a bright ſun and clear ſky, and the froſt being yet very ſharp, every object ſeems to glitter with gems; the nerves thus become braced by the cold; and though the reflexion of the ſun from the ſnow is very ſtrong, yet the eyes are ſeldom hurt by it. There is no ſmall amuſement in riding in ſledges, to thoſe who by the length of the

[t] This word ſignifies frontier. [u] LIVONIA, ESTONIA, INGRIA, and part of FINLAND.
[w] Count GALLOWINS. [x] Which happened in the year 1747.

winter

winter have in ſome meaſure forgot the much ſuperior pleaſure which nature preſents when ſhe is cloathed in green.

March is often attended with ſhowers, and theſe with the heat of the ſun penetrate the body of the ice, which is generally three quarters of a yard thick on the NEVA[y]; being at length rotten, and appearing as a honey-comb, about the end of that month it ordinarily breaks up, and its motion ſeems to attract the north-eaſt wind, for the wind generally blows very cold from that quarter. The gulph of FINLAND at the entrance of CRONSTADT is ſeldom free of ice before the end of April, ſo that the moſt early ſhips do not often arrive before the firſt week in May. This month is frequently very warm, the days being ſo much lengthened; thus nature ſeems to be reverſed, and ſummer to precede the ſpring, for it is ſometimes the firſt of June before any conſiderable verdure appears. The nitre contained in the ſnow invigorates the earth to that degree, and the intenſe heat of the ſun brings on the verdure ſo faſt, that the eye can diſcover its progreſs from day to day. Till the middle of July it ſeems to be one continued day, the ſun not intirely diſappearing above 2 hours in the 24: but the delight which this ſeaſon naturally affords, is conſiderably abated by the uneaſineſs created by the heat; however a week ſeldom paſſes but they are refreſhed by ſoutherly and weſterly winds, which often bring gentle ſhowers, particularly from the ſouth. I once experienced a delightful autumn till the end of September, but this happens very rarely: Auguſt generally cloſes the ſcene, ſo that we can hardly ſay there are above three months of ſummer.

September, in the ordinary computation, brings rain and froſt. October increaſes the ſeverity of both, and November always cloſes up the NEVA. Then comes on the ſeaſon for the ſpeedy and eaſy conveyance on the ſnow, which brings freſh proviſions to market a thouſand ENGLISH miles by land, as thoſe can witneſs who have often eat in St. PETERSBURG the beef of ARCHANGEL. In December and January the cold is often very

[y] In ſome great rivers to the north eaſt the ice is ſaid to be much thicker.

intenſe, and the poor, who are ſometimes overtaken by liquor, or expoſed in plains or other open places, particularly on the river between the city and CRONSTADT, not unfrequently periſh with cold.

RUSSIA is by no means a proper country for thoſe who delight in rural pleaſures, or think a walk in a fine day one of the moſt elevated joys the heart can receive. It is eaſy however to reſolve the DIFFICULTY ſome make concerning the poſſibility of living at all, or LIVING in any ſenſe above a bare exiſtence. The abundance of birch and elder with which the RUSSIANS are ſupplied, and the commodiouſneſs of the ſtoves, enables them to introduce any degree of warmth into their houſes; and where proper care is taken to burn the wood intirely to an aſh before the heat is confined, it is far from being diſagreeable: but if the tube or chimney by which the ſmoke is carried out, is ſtopt too ſoon, the air contained in the room becomes corrupted, and where no relief is given by letting in freſh air, the effect is as mortal as that of charcoal.

The common people in this country are cloathed with long coats made of dreſt ſheep ſkins, with the wool towards their bodies. Theſe are admirably adapted to the climate, and coſt only two rubles [z]; they alſo uſe a coarſe cloth, in which they ſwaddle their legs and feet: this is ſecured by a cord of reeds, their ſandals being alſo of the ſame material. Their caps are lined with fur, and cover the ears and neck as well as their heads: they wear ſaſhes round their waſte, and double gloves, one of woollen and the other of leather, which take in the hand without any diſtinction except the thumb; and theſe are alſo an eſſential part of their cloathing.

People of any diſtinction for the moſt part dreſs as we do in ENGLAND, and are under no other neceſſity than that of wearing a full great coat lined with fur [a], ſuch as wolf's, fox's, or linx's, with a deep quilted or fur lined cap when they go abroad. The women of the lower claſs, beſides their petticoats, wear ſheep ſkins as the men: thoſe who move

[z] Nine ſhillings. [a] The RUSSIANS call it a SHOOBE.

in

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Amiconi pinx. Major Sculp.

Peter the Great.

in a higher ſphere, wear flowered ſilk cloaks[b] lined with furs, of which the moſt common ſort is of white hare's. Ladies of the firſt diſtinction are ſeldom without theſe cloaks lined with rich furs, and by the advantage of coaches or ſledges and domeſtic conveniences, perhaps ſuffer leſs by cold than the people in the ſouth of FRANCE: although upon the whole I can by no means think it a climate conducive to the prolongation of life, eſpecially to aged perſons, or valetudinarians.

CHAP. XXV.

Several ſtories and private circumſtances relating to PETER *the* GREAT.

BUT what is truly deſerving admiration in RUSSIA, are the labours of the immortal PETER, who ſtill lives not only in every part of the government, but in every work of art and deſign. We can hardly ſay too much of this prince; his character is admired by the world in general, but particularly by the part of it that he governed, and which muſt ever revere his memory, ſo long as they retain any traces of his vaſt genius and indefatigable labours. If in the revolutions of ages they ſhould again decline into their antient barbarity of manners, they never will give a ſtronger proof of that barbarity, than by ceaſing to venerate his name. The moſt early part of this prince's life gave ſuch proof of a mind formed for great actions, that he ſeemed to be a man from his infancy, and with his manhood the hero grew up to that prodigious height, of which he gave the world ſo many proofs. The intimations he had received from foreigners of the government, arts, and improvements of other countries, made him weep over the ignorance and barbarity of his own; but his ſorrow gave way to his hopes; and fired with the noble ardour of true greatneſs, he reſolved to purſue it by the only path which, from the light of his own genius, he diſcovered to lead to it. He had too good a judgment to attempt the thing by any means but thoſe which alone were practicable. How amazing was his reſolution, who was born to empire, and had an abſolute power over ſo many millions of people, to humble himſelf to

[b] There are two kinds, ſome with and ſome without arms.

to the low offices and laborious drudgery of life! But he ſaw that example, aſſiſted by his boundleſs authority, could alone inſpire his people with juſt ſentiments, or compel them to a due obedience; and that the opulency and power of nations muſt ariſe from uſeful arts and mechanic employments: he ſought that power and opulency at their very fountain-head, and determined in his own perſon to act as much like a GOD as a man could do, diffuſing his influence by actions, the due effect of which, humanly ſpeaking, it was impoſſible for any man, except himſelf, to produce. Thus he ſubmitted as if he had been born only to a mean and low fortune; and determined to do that which ſhould deſerve a crown; and when he had obtained it, to take on him the true glory of a king, in wearing it gracefully, and according to the order of that providence which watches over the good of mankind. His actions demonſtrate that he thought it more glorious to excel as an artificer or mechanic, than to ſway a ſcepter upon no other title than his birth.

It is hard to ſay what the world has loſt in the journal which he kept himſelf, probably it contained what no hiſtorian can pretend to relate of him. I ſhall mention a few particulars which I do not find recorded of him in any hiſtorical accounts, being what I learnt of perſons with whom he frequently converſed. In AMSTERDAM he entered in a dock yard as a common carpenter, in the name of PETER MICHAILO, but he was known only to the maſter of the yard. It happened one day that PETER, by miſtake, took the tools of another perſon inſtead of his own; the owner diſcovering his tools in the hands of his companion, and theſe not being readily reſtored to him, words enſued, and the man gave PETER a blow; the maſter of the yard being informed of the matter, ſent for the ſuppoſed offender, and in the preſence of this prince reproved him ſeverely, and threatened him with puniſhment. PETER now put on the emperor, not in the inſolence of power, and with the externals of a king, but in pleading for the injured. "The man, ſays "he, is in the right, and I am in fault;" and immediately made up the quarrel by giving him money. Thus did this great monarch learn the true

true art of life and government, and through this voluntary arduous diſcipline, teach himſelf how to rule the ſpirits of an ignorant and uncivilized people.

It has been imputed to this prince, that he was cruel. The exact rule of mercy and juſtice cannot always be obſerved by any mortal man; and leaſt of all by princes, who cannot ſearch to the bottom of every thing. A man of his ſtrength of reſolution, cannot be ſuppoſed to have a heart of the melting ſort; and the ingratitude and inſenſibility of his ſubjects, their repugnance to accept the terms of their own felicity by the means he ſought it for them, means ſo obviouſly productive of the end, and yet ſo obſtinately reſiſted, could not but fire him with ſome reſentment, and might alſo perſuade him they could be ruled only by a rod of iron. Thus he might commit ſome acts of ſeverity, but that he put men to death with his own hand, I am perſuaded is not true[c].

An amorous diſpoſition, and a cruel one, are compatible in the ſame perſon, as experience often evinces; but cruelty and greatneſs of mind, ſuch as this prince demonſtrated, are not compatible. His great foible was the love of women; he was not however profuſe, nor even generous in his amours, if one may believe the reports of miſs CROSS, who was diſtinguiſhed, in her way, by the emperor's favour in ENGLAND. In HOLLAND he was ſeen with a girl in his arms at a common drinking houſe, of which repreſentation there is now an excellent picture in the palace at PETERHOFF. A gardiner once threw a hough at him for his amorous advances to a girl who was working in a garden. In ſhort, for a king he was as little elegant as expenſive in his amours: as in things of the higheſt moment, ſo in this he acted according to his inclinations, without any regard to forms. It is true, in this inſtance he was no hero, but as ſervilely ſubmiſſive to an imperious appetite as a common man: and it ſeemed in him but mere appetite, at leaſt we do not find that the pleaſure or torment ariſing from a paſſionate indulgence, or a reaſonable government of this weakneſs, ever drew him into inconveniencies, or protracted the progreſs

[c] In the caſe of the rebellion ſuppreſſed by general GORDON, hiſtorians mention his being angry that the executions were not performed before his arrival at MOSCO.

of

of that active and extenſive glory for which he was ſo much diſtinguiſhed: and for this vice, we muſt ſay with Sir WALTER RALEIGH, as well as I remember, "If ADAM in his ſtate of innocence; DAVID God's choſen "ſervant; and SOLOMON, a man of the greateſt wiſdom, ſwerved from "their duty to the living God, through the love they bore to woman, "it is not ſo wonderful as lamentable that men in all ſucceeding ages "have, &c." This great prince, who underſtood ſo well what regarded the good of the ſociety, could hardly exclude the religion he profeſſed from the ſyſtem of his politics; and we may charitably preſume that he, like DAVID, made his peace with heaven.

He was often ſeen to weep when he ordered executions. Miſs HAMBLETON [d], a maid of honour to the empreſs CATHERINE, had an amour which at different times produced three children: ſhe had always pleaded ſickneſs, but PETER being ſuſpicious, ordered his phyſician to attend her, who ſoon made the diſcovery: it alſo appeared that a ſenſe of ſhame had triumphed over her humanity, and that the children had been put to death as ſoon as born. PETER enquired if the father of them was privy to the murder; the lady inſiſted that he was innocent, for ſhe had always deceived him, by pretending they were ſent to nurſe. Juſtice now called on the emperor to puniſh the offence. The lady was much beloved by the EMPRESS, who pleaded for her: the amour was pardonable, but not the murder. PETER ſent her to the caſtle, and went himſelf to viſit her; and the fact being confeſſed, he pronounced her ſentence with tears, telling her that his duty as a prince, and God's vicegerent, called on him for that juſtice which her crime had rendered indiſpenſably neceſſary, and therefore ſhe muſt prepare for death. He attended her alſo on the ſcaffold, where he embraced her with the utmoſt tenderneſs mixed with ſorrow: and ſome ſay, that when her head was ſtruck off, he took it up by the ear whilſt the lips were yet trembling, and kiſſed them; a circumſtance of an extraordinary nature, and yet not incredible, conſidering the peculiarities of his character.

[d] Some call this lady MACKENZY.

How

How generous was his conduct to the SWEDISH priſoners after the battle of POLTOWA! He ſtruck one of his own officers for ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of the king of SWEDEN[d], and ſaid to him, "Am I not a king, and "might not my fortune have been the ſame as that prince's?" but what a profuſion of ſound politics was diſplayed in his taking his ſword from his own ſide, and preſenting it as a token of his favour to the SWEDISH general RENCHILD, upon the occaſion of that general's ſaying, that though the king his maſter had acted contrary to his opinion, yet he thought himſelf bound, as a faithful ſubject, to obey his commands.

As it is the cuſtom with us to interrupt converſation by drinking healths at table, in RUSSIA they add alſo another impertinence, by their ſervants offering wine whether you aſk for it or not. PETER was in warm diſcourſe with admiral APRAXIN, when the vice-admiral SENAVIN preſented him with a ſalver of wine; the emperor impatiently threw back his arm, which neceſſarily overſet the ſalver, and ſtruck the admiral, and then purſued his diſcourſe as if nothing had happened; afterwards recollecting himſelf, he aſked the admiral APRAXIN if he had not ſtruck ſomebody; "yes, ſays he, your majeſty has ſtruck the vice-admiral SENAVIN; "'tis true, he was in the wrong for interrupting your majeſty, but he is "a very honeſt man and a brave officer." PETER then reproached himſelf for ſtriking an officer of that rank, ſent for him immediately, begged his pardon, kiſſed him, and the next day ſent him a preſent.

VALENSKY, who had a command in the PERSIAN expedition, had been once beaten by PETER's orders, miſtaking him for another. "Well, ſays "PETER, I am ſorry for it, but you will deſerve it one day or other, and "then remind me that you are in arrears with me;" which accordingly happened upon that very expedition, and he was excuſed.

Thus did this great prince temper the natural impetuoſity of his diſpoſition with the utmoſt tenderneſs and regard to thoſe who deſerved well of him. It is known that he himſelf ſubmitted to enter his name as a private man in the army he raiſed, that his greateſt ſubjects might have

[d] To this purpoſe we may remember the ſtory of the PERSIAN ſoldier, who was told, "Sir, you "are paid to fight againſt ALEXANDER, not to rail at him.

no expectations of any other advancement than what ſhould be due to their merit. He had moſt experience as a general, but his favourite paſſion ſeemed to incline to the marine; and he more than once appeared INCOG as a common pilot, and received an ENGLISH crown and a cheeſe for bringing a ſhip from the bar to CRONSTADT.

This prince had to contend not only with the perverſeneſs of the vulgar; he found it neceſſary to teach the higheſt orders of his people to ſubmit to the wholſome reſtraints of good laws without reſpect of perſons. GAGARIN, a ſenator, had been for ſome time governor of SIBERIA, where he had accumulated more than a juſt miniſterial fortune by indirect practices, particularly by oppreſſing the caravans paſſing to and from CHINA: at length he was brought to St. PETERSBURG, condemned and hanged on a gallows erected oppoſite the ſenate houſe. After a few days the ſenators begged that his majeſty would order the body to be removed, intimating that it was a ſcandal to their rank as ſenators. "Yes, ſays the emperor, let him be taken down then, and hung up at "the common gallows," which was accordingly performed.

The ſtory of his ſuppoſed intrigue with baron GORTZ to invade ENGLAND, is mentioned by ſome hiſtorians; however that affair might be, he always denied it, but found matter of complaint againſt his vice-chancellor SCHAPIROFF, upon the examination of whoſe papers it appeared [e], that during his miniſtry at the HAGUE, he had accepted a ſum of 10,000 l. for the diſcovery of a ſecret; ſo that after SCHAPIROFF had been brought to the block, and his ſentence changed into baniſhment; PETER having received this evidence of his miniſter's guilt, would have recalled him to execution. OSTERMAN, afterwards vice-chancellor, repreſented to the emperor that as he had pardoned SCHAPIROFF, who had not been ſince guilty of any freſh crime, ſuch an action would ſully his honour; to which advice, offended as he was, this prince ſubmitted.

WESTPHALEN, the DANISH miniſter at the RUSSIAN court, had ſent a remarkable piece of news to COPENHAGEN; PETER, by means of his miniſter in that city, procured WESTPHALEN's own letter, and then

[e] As ſome confidently aſſert.

challenged

challenged him upon the ſubject; WESTPHALEN flatly denied that he had given any ſuch intelligence, till PETER produced his letter, upon which he very coolly replied, "I ſee princes have long arms; your majeſty "knows very well the duty I owe to my own prince and country, was I "in your majeſty's ſervice I ſhould conſult your intereſt with the ſame "fidelity." PETER, though extremely diſguſted, acquieſced in this defence.

We muſt not be ſurprized that this prince, while he was only a pupil in the ſchool of true greatneſs, condeſcended to menial offices or low mechanic employments, when only perſonal labour and perſonal knowledge could anſwer the end he had in view. In the height of his glory, and after the completion of his conqueſt, he had ſo entire a contempt of thoſe external circumſtances which ſometimes conſtitute the whole of a king, except the power annexed to royalty, that he ſeemed ambitious only of a ſovereignty in ſoul, and to act rather than appear the king. He had an extreme diſlike to rich cloaths, and was never ſo well ſatisfied as in his regimentals[f]: he never wore but one ſuit of embroidery, and that for a ſingle day only. In the ſummer time it was his uſual cuſtom to drive about the ſtreets of St. PETERSBURG in a chair with one horſe, ſometimes with and ſometimes without a page. In winter he has been ſeveral times ſeen in a common hackney ſledge[g]. It would ſometimes happen that he had not the value of three pence in his pocket to pay the fare; and he has more than once aſked the loan of this money of any perſon whom he knew, and accidentally met; yet notwithſtanding theſe ſeeming improprieties, the ſuperiority of his genius ſupported the dignity of a great monarch; and it was by laying aſide pomp and ſplendor, which were uneſſential to HIS glory, that he appeared ſo much like a deity, in every place, almoſt at one and the ſame time. He was generally at his tribu-

[f] A green cloth with a narrow gold lace, which is the richeſt cloathing in the army, and the RUSSIANS as well as the PRUSSIANS are not permitted to wear any other cloaths than their regimentals. The EMPRESS however has made her ſea officers very fine, their cloaths being white cloth, and the captains have gold lace enough upon it to conſume a good part of their pay. [g] Theſe are in value about 4 s. they are drawn by ſmall mean horſes, and driven by the commoneſt boors.

nals and public offices in the winter ſeaſon by five in the morning; and thus his perſonal attendance, and knowledge of buſineſs, taught his ſubjects their reſpective duties, confined them to thoſe duties, and made the ſtate flouriſh. He was not contented without going to the bottom of things, and therefore inſtead of making his people wait on him, he watched them, ſo that he was ſeldom to be found in the palace. Prince MENZIKOFF had the charge of public feaſts for foreign miniſters, ſo that PETER ſpent no time in vain ceremonies; and as to his own diet it was rather coarſe than elegant.

It is morally impoſſible that ſuch a country as RUSSIA was, could be more ſpeedily reduced to a regular and conſiſtent plan of government: but the extremity of arbitrary power which had long ſubſiſted, and the unpoliſhed manners which had for ſo many ages prevailed, ſeemed to have eſtabliſhed a rule of ASIATIC policy, which PETER was not able or not willing intirely to deſtroy: this conſiſted in a ſort of connivance in the prince, in ſeeing the grandees pillage the lower claſſes of the people, according as their offices might afford them an occaſion; but when they had thus accumulated wealth, and rendered themſelves obnoxious to the laws, their ſovereign came in for the plunder, either by degrading the offender, or ſuffering him to ranſom one part by delivering up the other.

But it is amazing that this great prince did not enter ſeriouſly into the conſideration of the bad adminiſtration of the laws, with regard to property and juſtice, till the very cloſe of his life, and in his laſt ſickneſs. The reſolution he then took, confined the determination of common cauſes to the term of eleven days, but it was no more than a flaſh of light which involves the traveller in greater darkneſs. Laws which are ſo obviouſly intended to ſupport the ſociety, are now in moſt parts of EUROPE ſo perverſely wreſted to the purpoſes of lawyers, to the eternal reproach of CHRISTENDOM, as to become the plague and diſtreſs of the virtuous; and the inſtrument of the moſt deteſtable conduct of the baſe and corrupt part of mankind: nor is there, I believe, a ſingle country in

in all EUROPE, except PRUSSIA, either in limited or arbitrary monarchies, where this is not complained of as a moſt crying abuſe. Had this great prince lived a few years longer to ſway the RUSSIAN ſcepter, it is more than probable he would have long time ſince ſhewn the king of PRUSSIA that example, which this prince, who really deſerves to be called great, had he no other virtue, has given to all the other ſovereigns and nations of EUROPE.

After what I have obſerved of the condeſcenſions familiar to PETER the GREAT, the reader will not be ſuprized that he converſed with all ſorts of people of whom he could learn any thing uſeful, among whom ſome of the ENGLISH and other foreign merchants were frequently his companions. He eat and drank with them, and was often godfather to their children; if his godchild died, he has even more than once attended their funerals. He was very inquiſitive about trade, yet he confeſſed it was what he leaſt underſtood: but his eſtabliſhment of the commerce in St. PETERSBURG, and bringing the greateſt part of it from ARCHANGEL; the premiums he offered to thoſe who ſhould find out new branches of trade; his ſetting up and encouraging new manufactories of linnen and hemp in his own country; the great countenance he gave to foreign merchants, and many other ſuch like circumſtances, are certain indications that he underſtood, in many inſtances, the means of advancing commerce as well as the great end of it.

This prince made even his pleaſures and amuſements ſubſervient to the important ends of his government. He had more than once received very melancholy proofs of the impatience of his ſubjects under the reformation which he had planned, and was now accompliſhing: this rendered him extremely ſuſpicious of them. As men's hearts are generally moſt open in their cups, he often drank with them liberally, ſometimes at court, and oftner at their own houſes. His manners ſeemed to be rude, in requiring even the ladies, upon certain occaſions, to ſwallow goblets of wine, or other ſtrong liquors, but in this he had his views: drinking is ſtill the vice of RUSSIA, but in a more elegant manner than in paſt times.

He

He had frequent convulſive diſtortions of his head and countenance, contracted by a fright in his youth, upon an occaſion when his life was in danger; but in ſuch caſes it was always the rule of the company he was in, to look down, or a different way, and purſue their diſcourſe without ſeeming to regard him.

To prevent a ſurprize or any attempt on his life, he would never lie alone: when he was not with the EMPRESS or other companion, he ordered one of his chamberlains [h] to ſleep with him, which was an uncomfortable ſituation to them, as he was very angry if they awaked him; and in his ſleep he often graſped them very hard.

What compleated his character as a maſter of exquiſite art and acute judgment, he diverted his people into a contempt of that ſordid ignorance, which for ſo many ages had reigned in this country, and which he now made it his taſk to baniſh. This could not be done more effectually than by ridiculing a ſuperſtitious reverence of the cuſtoms of their forefathers. With this view he ordered a great number of dreſſes of the ſeveral officers of the crown and court as worn in paſt ages; and in theſe himſelf and his whole court appeared in maſquerade: thus exhibiting themſelves to the people under ſeveral comic figures, they diverted them into a perſuaſion that they were at leaſt as wiſe in their age, and in their appearances, as their fathers had been before them.

This truly great prince was born the 11th of June 1672, and was the ſon of the CZAR ALEXIS MICHAELOWITZ, by his ſecond wife NATALIA CARILOWNA NARISKIN; and after being the wonder of the age in which he lived, he took his leave of this world the 28th of January 1725, leaving a character which will command the admiration of all ſucceeding generations.

[h] Whom the RUSSIANS call DENSHICKS.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

The firſt eſtabliſhment of the ENGLISH *factory in* RUSSIA. *The complaints of the merchants of* GREAT BRITAIN, *particularly the* RUSSIA *traders, with reſpect to foreigners obtaining acts of naturalization, without any intention of continuing in this kingdom.*

BEFORE I take my leave of RUSSIA, I ought perhaps to mention a circumſtance of ſome moment to my friends in that country, if not to this nation. The ENGLISH factory in RUSSIA, as I have already had occaſion to mention, was firſt eſtabliſhed in ARCHANGEL, in virtue of a charter granted by king PHILIP and queen MARY, at the ſame time that the CZAR IVAN WASSILOWITZ ſwayed the RUSSIAN ſcepter.

This charter is of too extenſive a nature, either in regard to the crown, the RUSSIA company, or the BRITISH ſubjects at large, to be fully complied with, and is conſequently become in certain reſpects obſolete: it reſerves however in full force ſuch neceſſary authority as excludes all foreigners, except RUSSIANS, from a participation of the RUSSIA trade to GREAT BRITAIN; and in virtue of the by-laws to which the traders acquieſce, the good government of the company is ſupported; a ſmall tax is levied for extraordinary occaſions, and for the charitable purpoſe of relieving poor ſeamen, and the widows of deceaſed mariners.

The factors employed abroad in the name of the RUSSIA company, removed from ARCHANGEL to St. PETERSBURG, ſoon after PETER the GREAT founded that city, which he made the ſeat of the RUSSIAN commerce. Among other particulars it is remarkable, that this factory has been for ſome time blended with foreigners, who in conſequence of their naturalization, have enjoyed a participation of the privileges and immunities of the company. The BRITISH factors ſaw this with impatience, and at length ſent their remonſtrances to their principals in LONDON, in conſequence of which an oppoſition was made to a bill[1] then depending before the parliament in behalf of a foreigner. This is a cir-

[1] 1752.

cumſtance

cumſtance in every reſpect intereſting, and about which there are a great variety of opinions: ſome particulars relating to the caſe of the merchants of GREAT BRITAIN reſiding at home, or in the BRITISH factories in foreign countries, with reſpect to perſons obtaining acts of naturalization, without any purpoſe of continuing in theſe kingdoms, were printed, and of which I have preſerved ſuch extracts as ſerve as an introduction to the ſubject, viz.

"THE granting to ſtrangers all the privileges and immunities which "the conſtitution derives to thoſe born under its protection, and "who have a mutual tie of duty and affection, has been ever regarded "in all civilized nations, as a point of the higheſt importance to the "public; as it plainly is in GREAT BRITAIN, where ſuch a participa- "tion, in the birthrights of its ſubject, cannot be beſtowed but by the "legiſlature, that is, in effect, by the conſent of the whole kingdom.

"Whenever therefore this high and great favour is conferred, it muſt "be preſumed to flow from juſt and weighty reaſons; ſuch as eminent "ſervices actually performed by thoſe who ſeek it, or which may be ra- "tionally expected from them; and in this light, acts of naturalization "are highly reaſonable, as they are apparently calculated for the public "benefit; and arguments of this kind have been uſually ſuggeſted, when "favours of this ſort have been rendered more general, with a view to "invite into this country foreign proteſtants of eaſy fortunes, ſkilful in "commerce, capable of introducing or improving manufactures, or, in "a word, fit to become uſeful members of the community; into which "they are received in the moſt ſolemn manner, and become intitled to all "that is dear and valuable to ENGLISHMEN.

"Theſe motives, ariſing from reciprocal advantages, have been eſteem- "ed ſo wiſe and equitable, that acts of naturalization ſo founded, have "been ever conſidered as tending highly to the advantage of this nation, "and more eſpecially to the mercantile intereſt; which has certainly "reaped very ſignal and indiſputable advantages from them; as is parti- "cularly manifeſt from numbers of opulent families now ſubſiſting in "theſe

" theſe kingdoms, that were originally invited, fixed or eſtabliſhed here, " in virtue of ſuch wiſe and ſalutary laws.

" But this being the caſe, it is not eaſy to ſee how the ſame benefits, " or any other adequate to them, can ariſe from particular or general acts " of naturalization, where the privileges granted to ſtrangers are not in " ſome meaſure reſtrained to their reſidence within the BRITISH domini- " ons; and this, from the laſt bill for ſuch a general naturalization, ſeem- " ed to have been the ſenſe of the legiſlature from a clauſe evidently " founded upon this reaſoning.

" The naturalizing foreigners, and thereby giving them a title to all " the privileges of BRITISH ſubjects, without requiring from them the " plain and natural equivalent of reſiding here, puts it in their power to " ſettle in foreign countries, with all the advantages due to the ſubjects " of GREAT BRITAIN; and thereby affords them an opportunity of " ſerving their own countrymen, and indeed foreigners of all nations, at " the expence of GREAT BRITAIN, without any the leaſt advantage ac- " cruing to this nation.

" With reſpect to foreigners thus naturalized, and eſtabliſhed as factors " abroad, we are not led, either from reaſon or experience, to conceive, " that they can have any particular attachment to the intereſts, or any " real zeal or rooted affection for the welfare of GREAT BRITAIN; but " muſt be chiefly governed by that principle of ſelf-intereſt, which origi- " nally led them to ſeek ſuch privileges, of which they might avail them- " ſelves, in conſequence of thoſe treaties and alliances concluded with the " crown of GREAT BRITAIN, and by which many valuable immunities " and indulgences are ſecured to her ſubjects; equivalents for which are " and will be always expected from the BRITISH nation. Theſe may " frequently occaſion a public expence, and that expence muſt be raiſed " by taxes on the natives of this iſland; but theſe naturalized foreigners " reſiding abroad, do not in the leaſt contribute to them. Foreigners un- " der theſe circumſtances are then more favoured than the natives.

" The arguments in favour of unreſtrained acts of naturalization to fac-
" tors abroad ought to be extremely clear and convincing; for in RUSSIA,
" and perhaps in other countries, it is difficult, if not impracticable, to
" make the natives underſtand how the people of any other country, can
" become ENGLISHMEN, or BRITISH ſubjects, and, by that means, en-
" titled to the privileges that by treaties are ſtipulated to us. Thus ſuch
" treaties may be rendered very precarious, the dignity of the nation
" weakened, and the conduct of ſuch foreigners ſubject us to diſputes
" and inconveniencies, which otherwiſe might never have ariſen.

" The act of navigation, that wiſe and ſalutary law, which has been
" the bulwark of the BRITISH commerce, breathes a ſpirit that would
" incline us to think the ſame regard ought to be had to BRITISH ſub-
" jects, as to BRITISH bottoms; and that all imaginable precaution ſhould
" be taken to ſecure the advantages ariſing by a commiſſion on the ſale
" of the commodities and manufactures of this iſland, to their natural
" propriétors and native ſubjects; more eſpecially at a juncture, when
" there is nothing more evident, than that all the nations in EUROPE
" have opened their eyes to the advantages of commerce.

" The queſtion then is, if upon this principle we ought to be very
" circumſpect in beſtowing the privileges of ſubjects on thoſe who were
" yeſterday our rivals, without any ſecurity that they will not become
" the ſame to-morrow? To this we may alſo add, that as there was
" a time when the whole of our traffic was engroſſed by LOMBARDS,
" merchants of the STEEL-YARD, members of the HANSE TOWNS, and
" other foreigners, if we ought in common prudence to avoid every thing
" that may bring us into a like ſtate again?"

The connexion which the nation has with foreigners, and the advan-
tages confeſſedly derived from them, has made a deep impreſſion on the
minds of ſome of the greateſt men in this kingdom; but general views
of things do not always give the mind that light and ſatisfaction as a par-
ticular object which it can more eaſily graſp, and from thence with the
greater facility enlarge itſelf, and take in others of a ſimilar nature. Let
us then examine the particular caſe which gave occaſion to theſe remarks.

" The

" The amount of the reaſons againſt any reſtrictive clauſe in the acts of " naturalization of foreigners as factors in RUSSIA[k]," was this, that the treaty of commerce between the crowns of GREAT BRITAIN and RUSSIA, is really a matter of no great moment, and that the figure which the ENGLISH make in RUSSIA, is owing to their aſſociation with foreigners in that country. A further argument was, " That foreigners ſituated " in RUSSIA are under peculiar diſadvantages to all other foreigners, or " even what they themſelves would be if ſituated in any other country; " not by any particular law of the legiſlature, but from a partial regula- " tion of the RUSSIA company, by which each member is reſtrained by " virtue of the oath taken upon his admiſſion to his freedom, from giv- " ing any commiſſions to any perſon not free of the company; and that " freedom is never granted but to BRITISH born and naturalized ſubjects;" from whence it is deduced that the trade is a monopoly.

Thus becauſe the RUSSIA company do not give up to foreigners the benefits of the RUSSIAN trade with GREAT BRITAIN, therefore their charter is hurtful to GREAT BRITAIN. Now it is evident that there cannot be a trade where a greater liberty is open to the natives of a country than this in queſtion. The RUSSIAN markets are always well ſupplied, each trader purſuing his own inclination to import, and his own opinion concerning the riſe and fall of markets, and the opportunities of ſale: I have known BRITISH houſes in St. PETERSBURG that for ſeveral ſucceſſive years have had from 40 to 100 bales of cloth remaining over the annual demand. The credit given the RUSSIANS is never leſs than 12 months, unleſs in ſmall articles, and it is often extended to 15 and 18 months, and the prices of goods are as low as poſſible for the merchant to receive a living profit.

There are no monopolies or excluſive privileges aſſumed by the RUSSIA company, nor any rule of conduct eſtabliſhed, which has the leaſt appearance of being injurious to this nation; for any natural born proteſtant ſubject may, for 5 l. take his freedom of the company, go

[k] A paper publiſhed in 1752.

into RUSSIA, and eſtabliſh a houſe of buſineſs, under the protection of the BRITISH crown. The ENGLISH merchant may alſo conſign goods to any perſon who is a native of RUSSIA, or a ſubject of GREAT BRITAIN, remembering that the advantage in favour of the BRITISH ſubjects in RUSSIA, according to the 27th article of the treaty of commerce is about one third part in the cuſtoms of ſoldiers cloths [l], YORKSHIRES [m] and flannels. Nor is there any reſtraint with regard to the markets of theſe kingdoms, for any RUSSIAN as well as freeman of the company, may ſend RUSSIAN goods into ENGLAND; he is only to pay the aliens duty, as eſtabliſhed by law [n]. The law of nations, the right of reciprocal protection, and the laſt article of the treaty do, I apprehend, make the RUSSIANS entirely free to trade to this country. Some RUSSIAN merchants have actually been here, but finding they could not diſpoſe of their goods in a ſatisfactory manner, nor live near ſo cheap as at home, they returned to their own country.

Beſides this favour in the cuſtoms, the BRITISH factors in St. PETERSBURG eſteem it a valuable privilege, that in all caſes where they are defendants, particularly that of bankruptcy, their affairs are cognizable by the college of trade, and their books ſacred to the inſpection of four reputable merchants, appointed by that college. In many caſes alſo, where they are plaintiffs, they apply to the college of trade; but their common ſuits and demands for money of the RUSSIAN merchants, have been for ſome years transferred to the magiſtracy [o].

With regard to the quartering of ſoldiers in RUSSIA, the BRITISH ſubjects are indulged in a peculiar manner, and no doubt it ought to be deemed a favour, under a military government to be exempt from it. This privilege however was more ſacred and more conſiderable formerly than of late years. I have myſelf oppoſed attempts made by the officers of the police to oblige me as a tenant to find quarters. I do not know that theſe attempts have yet ſucceeded againſt tenant or landlord, but if

[l] Coarſe cloths ſo called. [m] A thick coarſe cloth. [n] This duty amounts to 3 s. 4 d. on a tun of hemp, or about ¾ per cent. on the preſent value of hemp, at 23 l. per tun, which in general terms is provided for in the treaty of commerce. [o] This was a moſt ignorant and corrupt tribunal, and a ſhame to the RUSSIAN nation in my time; but if it ſhould continue the ſame, it is in the power of the factors to repreſent this grievance.

the

the landlord is compelled to find quarters, and the rent is raiſed on this account, the tenant ought to complain; for we conſider it not only as the ſpirit of the treaty, that BRITISH ſubjects ſhall enjoy an entire exemption from quarters, that is, that the landlord not being chargeable with it, the tenant ſhall have his rent ſo much the cheaper. This muſt be the ſenſe of the 16th article, or it means nothing; for who can imagine it ſhould be deemed a favour to a BRITISH government, that common ſoldiers may not ſit in the compting-houſe of a BRITISH merchant in RUSSIA?

How cautious the RUSSIANS are of being laviſh of any eſſential part of the treaty appears by this; that in order to aſcertain the legality of property, when a BRITISH ſubject firſt appears in the cuſtom-houſe of St. PETERSBURG, the officers demand a certificate of his majeſty's conſul, that the perſon is really what he pretends to be, and without it they will not clear his goods.

In what manner this treaty of commerce is conſidered by the RUSSIANS may be deduced from the embaſſy of monſieur DE DIEU, at the RUSSIAN court in 1745. It was generally reported, and I believe it is true, that his chief buſineſs was to negotiate a treaty of commerce on the behalf of his maſters, the ſtates of the UNITED PROVINCES, on the plan of that of GREAT BRITAIN; but certain it is, that he did not accompliſh any ſuch treaty: and if ſo able and ſo favoured a miniſter could not procure this privilege for his countrymen, the RUSSIANS certainly meant not that the advantages they grant to BRITISH ſubjects ſhould become general; ſo that naturalizations granted to foreigners in RUSSIA tend to enervate the treaty of commerce, and may at length render it contemptible.

The RUSSIANS know very well, that the ENGLISH were the firſt that diſcovered ARCHANGEL; that they had an excluſive privilege of trade to RUSSIA in the reign of queen ELIZABETH; that PETER the GREAT, whoſe maxims of government are juſtly dear to them, always ſhewed a diſtinguiſhed regard to the ENGLISH merchants, and even at the time that the politics of the two nations did not intirely coincide[p], he gave them his royal word,

[p] Some difference with his late majeſty, as elector of HANOVER.

that

that at all events they might conſider themſelves as under his peculiar care and protection: this I have been aſſured by one who was familiar with his imperial majeſty. The RUSSIANS are alſo ſenſible of the political as well as of the commercial intereſt of the two nations, and conſider this country, and I hope will always conſider it, as their hereditary friend[q]. As our extenſive commerce has reached every corner of the earth, the greater our ſupport is at home, the greater muſt our reputation be abroad. Reputation is certainly no imaginary thing, but muſt be in ſome degree productive of good to our commercial intereſt, with relation to the ſpirit of commerce in our factors abroad.

The BRITISH houſes in St. PETERSBURG have not only a trade to GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, but to HOLLAND, PRUSSIA, SWEDEN, HOLSTEIN, and ſeveral parts of GERMANY; alſo to PORTUGAL, SPAIN and ITALY; this has ariſen from the connexions of their extenſive commerce, intirely independant of naturalized ſubjects in RUSSIA. On the other hand, this is not the caſe with naturalized ſubjects[r]. There long has been, and I hope ever will be, an honourable diſtinction abroad, between us and other foreigners, both as BRITONS and as merchants, not in the eſteem of the RUSSIANS only, but of all other nations. Whether it is worthy of national obſervation or not, can be determined only from the nature of the ſubject; but it is apparent that the naturalization of foreigners to reſide in RUSSIA, creates ill blood in the breaſt of his majeſty's natural born ſubjects who are in that country: it would have created much more, but that there are but few of the naturalized factors who have not

[q] I remember the compliment made to this nation by the governour of ASTRACHAN, a very ingenious man, whom I have mentioned in the courſe of theſe papers, ſpeaking to his friends in my preſence, "You are to conſider, ſays he, the ENGLISH merchants in a different light from thoſe of any "other nation trading to this country; they are ſkilful, generous, humane, upright; they extend "their commerce over the whole earth; and every country where they come is enriched by them. "The commodities they deal in are neceſſary, ſubſtantial, and of the greateſt uſe to the community; "and they take off more of the RUSSIAN commodities than all the other nations united."

[r] I have heard the RUSSIAN merchants occaſionally treat us with ridicule, by uſing a droll expreſſion, which ſignifies, "Are you a white-waſhed ENGLISHMAN?" and a naturalized factor being in ſome diſtreſs, pleaded his being an ENGLISH ſubject, to VALENSKY, a miniſter of the empreſs ANN: "You an ENGLISH ſubject, ſays this miniſter, why, you was born in CASAN, in the dominion of the "EMPRESS."

failed;

failed; had they conducted their trade with moderation and prudence, it is probable the BRITISH commerce might have been intirely in their hands, and this nation nothing the better for the commiſſion on the ſale of BRITISH commodities, or on the purchaſe of thoſe of RUSSIA. Beſides, is it not highly reaſonable to think that ſuch naturalized ſubjects would be leſs tender than the BRITISH factors, in regard to the prices this nation might pay for naval ſtores?

I paſſed ſome years of my life at LISBON, where I obſerved that the FRENCH proteſtants in that place live in mutual harmony with the native ſubjects of this iſland; and from the experience we have that their riches always center here, they are conſidered upon the ſame footing with other BRITISH ſubjects. The trading world is often ſuſpected of acting upon narrow principles; yet our factors abroad are not only for the moſt part loyal, but upon the compariſon of the ſeveral governments under which they live, with the excellent conſtitution of theſe kingdoms, they contract a patriot and diſintereſted ſpirit: but when from the ſtrongeſt evidence, they apprehend the intention of the legiſlature is defeated, and their own intereſt hurt at the ſame time, they are alarmed, and think it their duty to appeal to their country. The BRITISH factors in PORTUGAL are jealous of thoſe foreigners, who having obtained of the BRITISH crown a participation of the BRITISH birthrights, carry ALL THEIR wealth to any country except this iſland, where indeed their paternal connexions do not center [f]. Many of the PORTUGAL traders ſigned the petition already mentioned, the meaning of which is intelligible beyond diſpute, and ſeems to ſpeak the general ſenſe of the merchants of this metropolis, though SOME may be inclined, upon DIFFERENT PRINCIPLES, to DIFFERENT SENTIMENTS.

The BRITISH factors in HAMBURG, have not one naturalized ſubject amongſt them. The convention of the BRITISH HAMBURG company, with the regency of that city, will not admit any naturalized ſubject to a participation of the valuable immunities of that company, and

[f] Mr. RAIHLEIGH, a great PORTUGAL trader, who has given eſtates to many HAMBURGHERS in LISBON, can tell if any of them ever brought a ſhilling of it into this country.

which

which for a ſeries of years they have enjoyed with a moſt unblemiſhed reputation. And what could this nation gain by an admiſſion of naturalized ſubjects into that factory? It would be eaſy to prove, that whatever we play into their hands, is a loſing game to this country; for I do not comprehend what they could give us in exchange. My reaſon for thinking it is a loſing game is this; with regard to the RUSSIA factors, I know at this time eight or ten BRITISH ſubjects, I ſuppoſe there are more, who laid the foundation of their fortunes as factors in that country; and ſome of them are yet intereſted in houſes there. There is not one of thoſe perſons but has brought riches, more or leſs, and ſome of them, I believe, to a conſiderable amount, to the national ſtock of this country, and are, I have great reaſon to think, good members of the community. On the other hand, I have ſeen a liſt of 24 foreigners, many of whom I know perſonally, who within theſe 25 years have been naturalized; and of all this number, in all this time, only one ever came into this kingdom, and he had particular connexions with a BRITISH ſubject. It muſt be obſerved, that it was only 25 years ſince any naturalization reached RUSSIA, the trade then was not ſo conſiderable as it is now, nor had our people eſtabliſhed themſelves there under the ſanction of ſuch a treaty as the preſent.

We are jealous of weakening ourſelves by the want of foreign aids; but to think ourſelves dependant in caſes where our intereſt in one light is apparently wounded, is it not to weaken ourſelves for fear of being weakened? Not to confound things of a different nature under one name, it muſt be obſerved that the circumſtances of naturalized ſubjects at home, under this government, and entitled to enjoy all the good, and ſubject to ſhare in all the evils which befal the ſtate, are very different from thoſe of perſons who participate of the advantages which this nation enjoys abroad. The intention of naturalization no doubt is the benefit of this iſland; and if there are caſes in which naturalizations are not attended with any benefit, but on the contrary proſtitute the honour of the nation, enervate its influence, and counteract its native ſubjects; it ought to be preſumed that ſuch caſes have not been ſet in a proper light. The FRENCH proteſtants have indeed ſtrong connexions with this iſland, their

their parentage, their intereſt, or the protection they receive, induce them to conſider this as their proper home, and conſequently they are entitled to all the regard which we can ſhew them.

If experience is the beſt guide of life, it is that which muſt teach us whom to receive into our breaſts as friends, and whom to reject in the commercial light we now conſider the ſubject, as no friends to this country. By what rule can we judge better than by obſerving thoſe people who return our kindneſs with gratitude; and thoſe who forget the benefits they receive?

If our FIRST concern ought to be for our own children; it ought then to be conſidered how many ſons of tradeſmen, merchants, gentlemen, and even noblemen, are loſt to their parents, their country, and their GOD, for want of employment! Merchants are no where more HONOURABLY eſteemed than in this country; but they often lay the foundation of that knowledge for which they are eſteemed, in diſtant climes; and ſhall we encourage foreigners to take their place? There cannot be more trade carried on than a country will bear: it will uſually employ ſo much money; ſo many hands, and no more. Do we want money in this nation to carry on our trade? by no means. It is true, the national intereſt is already very low, perhaps it will be lower ſtill, and what will be the conſequence but that we muſt throw more money into trade, and extend our ſettlements and commercial intereſt over the earth, as much as poſſible? Why ſhould we encourage foreigners to do any thing for us abroad, which we can do better ourſelves? What circumſtances ſhould we be in, if all our factors abroad were foreigners? What tie, or what ſecurity could we have of their integrity in the ſale of our commodities, much leſs in the promotion of national manufactures in oppoſition to thoſe of other countries, or zeal in the purchaſe of the commodities of the countries where they reſide, if they left us no pledge of their fidelity, nor ſpent any part of their lives in this iſland?

On the other hand, what riches do not our factors bring home! How many conſiderable men have not we in this metropolis from LISBON!

Who can be ignorant of the wealth that has been brought here by EAST INDIA factors? Are not theſe great national objects? ITALY, SPAIN, and other countries, are ever ſending us new recruits to our commercial ſtrength, ariſing from factorage. But there is yet a further reaſon which occurs: let the warmeſt advocates for general naturalizations, without any diſtinction of perſons, profeſſions, or reſidence, conſider how deſtructive ſuch naturalizations are to our GENERAL SYSTEM OF NATURALIZATION AND NATIONAL PROFIT. If we give to foreign proteſtants abroad that which ſhould invite them hither, we may even prevent their coming to us. By being laviſh of our beneficence we ſeem to be ſufficiently paid by their acceptance of it, without any regard to the return which they are to make us. For what foreigner, ſeeing us ſo prodigal of our bounty in a caſe of this nature, which he knows to be injurious to the natural born ſubjects of this iſland, can, in proportion as it is beneficial to himſelf, entertain any other opinion than that we do not pretend to purſue our own intereſt?

The original intention of naturalization being confeſſedly the benefit of this nation, where there is the leaſt ground of ſuſpicion that the party going abroad means not to add any thing to the national advantage, ought he not in ſuch a caſe to declare on what principles he pretends to the favour in queſtion; and if it ſhould appear that he deceived the legiſlature, would not ſuch a reſentment be due as at leaſt to refuſe a compliance?

If a reciprocal regard to the intereſt of this nation, is the ſole motive of the invitation given to foreigners who reſide here; and if by their reſidence they do in fact give us the earneſt of a grateful return; is there no ſecurity to be aſked of thoſe who do not ſo much as pretend to live amongſt us, nor give us any kind of equivalent? The very expectation of advantage from them is diſtant, remote, confuſed, and perhaps utterly unintelligible. The injury is obvious to demonſtration, and is actually complained of by thoſe who feel it, whoſe intereſt is common with that of the whole nation.

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The reader to whom the ſubject is new, muſt now be informed that the merchants and RUSSIA factors at length obtained the thing they aſked, by fixing the time of abſence to the naturalized foreigner already mentioned, to three years, and then to reſide three years alternately in this country, or to become an alien: but this was a temporizing accommodation of the matter, and does not ſeem to anſwer the full intent of the legiſlature. Upon the principle that this reſtrictive clauſe will produce the end propoſed, it might become a rule of conduct to the nation in ſimilar caſes of naturalized factors. As a trading nation we might be yet more indulgent to thoſe, whoſe connexions are nearly equal with the common ties of the natural born ſubjects; but let us conſider diſpaſſionately, how dangerous it is in politics to enter very deep into refinements of this ſort, either immediately to advance the intereſt of a nation, or to prevent an injury which may be more remote.

The object moſt dear to an honeſt man is the real happineſs of his country. This principle being laid down, let us conſider what means are moſt effectual to obtain this end in a direct view. We ſee one of the wiſeſt princes in EUROPE uſing his utmoſt endeavours to bring people into his country; as we deſire to engage foreigners who can bring riches, arts, or induſtry, to come to this iſland. He gives them lands and great immunities; he has brought 20,000 into his capital in a few years: but he is far from extending thoſe privileges to perſons out of his dominions. With regard to ourſelves, the ſame reaſons that induce us to give encouragement to people to come to this iſland, may be a ſufficient motive not to give it out of theſe dominions, and under foreign juriſdiction. If we carry our views ſo far as to give foreigners abroad, a power of taking a ſhare in what our own people poſſeſs, without any ſecurity of the leaſt return from ſuch foreigners, nay, where all appearances make againſt any return, do we not counteract our own principle?

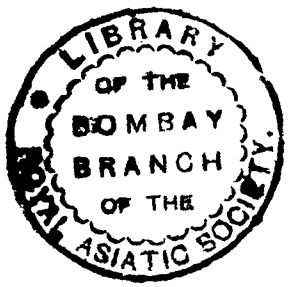
If it is urged, that a nation cannot be ſaid to confer a favour, which by reſtrictions is rendered leſs valuable; I do not apprehend, without being QUIXOTS in politics, what it is we mean by theſe words, for I ſuppoſe intereſt is the object in purſuit. As to weakening the influence of naturalization, by which commerce is intended to be promoted; this alſo ſeems

to prove nothing more than that we ſhould run all hazards, rather than loſe any poſſibility of getting a ſubject who is a foreigner, though at the expence of a ſubject who is a native. It is ſaid that naturalization without limitation, has, after an indefinite abſence, brought foreigners into this country who might not otherwiſe have come. It would be well worth examining if this is true, and who ſuch perſons are, and what were their inducements to ſettle here, before this argument can be anſwered: for when they do in fact come, we receive them with open arms; and we ought to countenance and encourage thoſe who MAY ſettle here, if we do not pay too much for it. But I do not comprehend that here are any ſettlements of ſuch weight as to eſtabliſh a rule of conduct in oppoſition to our commercial intereſt, as it appears in a direct view. The caſe before us is foreign to the countenancing of ſtrangers, who ſet out upon a principle of DESIGNING to ſettle in this iſland. I ſay FOREIGN TO SUCH PRINCIPLE; for though many FRENCH proteſtants have come here, after being as long abroad under the protection of the crown of GREAT BRITAIN, as they pleaſed, yet ſtill the matter will reſt on this iſſue. Are we ſo fond of naturalization as to give a power to foreigners WITHOUT DISTINCTION, to ſupplant our own people, where experience teaches us we have no juſt grounds to expect any ſuitable returns?

It cannot be too often repeated, that we ought to be cautious of curbing in any degree the inclinations of the natural born ſubjects in regard to commerce; or of damping that ſpirit and application to trade, on which is founded the opulence of this nation, and its ſtrength and influence as a maritime power. And whilſt intereſt is the great incentive to human actions, and particularly actions of this kind, I think it is apparent that the more we interpoſe to countenance foreigners in commercial deſigns, in caſes not demonſtrably beneficial to this country; the more we depreſs the ſpirits of our own merchants, who confeſſedly do advance the intereſt of the nation: and this diſcouragement may extend not only in regard to their being deprived of thoſe profits which immediately accrue from the ſhare ſuch naturalized foreigners have in their trade, but alſo to a jealouſy of being intirely ſupplanted in the courſe of time.

May

May it not be queſtioned what prejudices would this nation receive, if no naturalized ſubject till he has reſided here ſeven years, nor the children born abroad of perſons already naturalized, their parents not having lived in his majeſty's dominions for the ſame number of years, were received abroad as factors or merchants in common with native born ſubjects? If it can be demonſtrated that ſuch prejudice will be greater than any that can be proved on the other ſide the queſtion, there is no room for a debate; but if it can be made appear that it is only equal, the ſcale, we may expect, will turn in favour of the native ſubject; much more if the prejudice is againſt the latter; for this plain reaſon that the national and mercantile intereſt are but two words for the ſame thing. The impartial reader will conſider the argument, not the writer, if I am ſuſpected of intereſt where I have no other view than national benefit; yet the real truth can receive no diminution. I hope that will be done which is moſt for the intereſt of my country, be it what it will.



PART

PART III.

THE AUTHOR's RETURN THROUGH GERMANY AND HOLLAND TO ENGLAND.

CHAP. XXVII.

The author leaves St. PETERSBURG *in July* 1750. *A ſuccinct view of the* EMPRESS's *palace at* PETERHOFF, *and the road to it. A particular account of* CRONSTADT *and the* RUSSIAN *navy. A deſcription of* REVEL *and its trade, with reflections on the interment of human bodies in churches. The author purſues his voyage to* DANTZIG.

THE frequent diſappointments which had for ſome time prevented my returning to my native country, increaſed my wiſhes for the happy hour which at length arrived. I had already travelled through LIVONIA, and the reports concerning COURLAND not inſpiring me with the curioſity of ſeeing it, I therefore reſolved to embark in a ſmall ſhip for DANTZIG.

July the 9th, I left St. PETERSBURG, and travelling near the banks of the NEVA, for the moſt part in a ſandy road, I paſſed by the palace of STRELNA MUSA, which is about 20 werſts from St. PETERSBURG. It ſtands on an eminence, and commands an extenſive view of the gulph of FINLAND, near the mouth of the NEVA. This was intended to be a more grand and elegant building than PETERHOFF; the gardens alſo were laid

laid out in a magnificent taſte, but the death of PETER the GREAT, together with the badneſs of the foundation of this edifice, put a ſtop to the proſecution of the deſign: from thence to PETERHOFF is 15 werſts. The preſent EMPRESS has cauſed many of her courtiers to build country houſes on the ſouth ſide of the road, which render the face of the country more agreeable. Among theſe the houſe and gardens of baron WOLFF are moſt diſtinguiſhed for extent, beauty, and convenience. Theſe country houſes are for the moſt part built of wood, and very little expence is beſtowed on the gardens; the ſoil alſo in general is ſandy, ſo that the whole makes but a faint impreſſion on travellers.

PETERHOFF, as left by PETER the GREAT, was but a mean building; the preſent EMPRESS has enlarged and beautified it very much. I have heard the waterworks compared to thoſe of VERSAILLES, with this diſtinction, that the waters of PETERHOFF are ſweet. This palace being ſituated on an eminence on the ſouth ſide of the gulph of FINLAND, commands an extenſive proſpect of the water; it alſo takes in the iſland of CRONSTADT, about ſix miles to the north weſt. The foreſt of maſts, which appear from the baſons in that iſland, during the ſummer ſeaſon, enlivens the proſpect, and gives the idea of a flouriſhing commerce. There is a great variety of ſcenes in PETERHOFF; but as they are moſtly on a dead flat, and the walks made of ſand; this garden of ſo great a potentate is incomparably ſhort of a STUDLEY or a BRAMHAM[a], and many others of equal beauty in ENGLAND. From hence to ORENJENBAUN is about 5 werſts: here the celebrated prince MENZIKOFF inhabited the palace which is lately fitted up for the great duke. Several of my friends having obliged me with their company thus far, I took my leave of them, and paſſing the gulph where it is about five miles broad, I arrived at CRONSTADT.

Here I was detained for ſeveral days by foul winds and tempeſtuous weather, not common at this ſeaſon, ſo that I had an opportunity of examining one of the greateſt curioſities in the world of its kind, which is the dry dock, contrived by PETER the GREAT. This work, by the

[a] Seats in YORKSHIRE.

length

length of time it has been in hand, and the alterations made by the different directors of it, muſt have created a large expence. It reaches about 700 fathoms, is 60 feet broad at the bottom, 80 feet at the top, and 40 feet deep, having flood-gates in different parts: it is intended to receive fourteen ſhips of the line of battle, to build or repair them dry, and afterwards float them off. There is a grand reſervoir, which was then almoſt dug 18 feet lower than the docks, and conſequently is near 60 feet deep; and yet, to my great ſurprize, there were no ſprings which incommoded the workmen. It is about 600 feet long, and 300 broad, and will contain about 16,000 cubical fathoms of water, each fathom of 340 cubical feet, which at 6 ½ gallons each, make 140,317 tuns. The ſtone which was employed in forming this dock being found exceeding periſhable, they now uſe a kind of flint, which has been lately diſcovered on the iſland, than which nothing can be more durable to all appearance.

The RUSSIAN naval power, which was carried to a great height ſo early as the reign of PETER the GREAT, appears to be ſufficient for all the purpoſes of that empire, and capable of ſupporting their new conqueſts on the BALTICK, ſhould the SWEDES ever attempt to retake them by a naval power; though I believe the friendſhip of the BRITISH nation, as a maritime power, is no unpleaſing circumſtance to RUSSIA upon this very account. Their fleet conſiſts of 25 ſhips of the line, and 15 bombketches, fireſhips and frigates, of about 30 guns each, of which the greateſt part are kept in repair; and one, two, or three capital ſhips are built and launched every year at St. PETERSBURG: but what gives a great weight to their naval ſtrength, is the numbers of their gallies, which carry from 100 to 300 men, of which only 6 or 8 are ſailors. Theſe are proper for the BALTICK in the ſummer; and as they draw but little water, they are formidable objects on an enemy's coaſt, as the SWEDES experienced in their war with PETER the GREAT. The RUSSIANS are computed to have near 10,000 ſeamen, of which above half generally live at CRONSTADT, and when employed as carpenters, or about ſhip affairs, are allowed proviſions, and ten copeeks a day. The harbour

harbour or wet dock, intended for the crown ſhips, will contain 80 men of war, and in that for the trade 250 merchant ſhips can be moored; but the latter having the deepeſt water, is oftentimes preſerved for the large ſhips of war.

The iſland of CRONSTADT is near 15 miles in circumference, but very barren; the town is computed to have near 25,000 inhabitants, including ſoldiers and ſailors: beſides this there are only two or three ſmall villages for fiſhermen. Here is a palace built by PETER the GREAT, and about 25 large brick houſes, but the ſupport of them being expenſive, they are left uninhabited. In this place PETER the GREAT had formed a plan of fixing the trade, and deſigned to cut a canal near 20 miles long on the ſouth ſide of the gulph, which would have paſſed through the garden of STRELNA MUSA. The intent of this was to provide a ſafe paſſage for barks loaded with the commodities of this country. However this project was hardly practicable, for it would be dangerous for large and heavy loaden barks to croſs from ORENJENBAUN to CRONSTADT; but the common reaſon aſſigned for this great prince's declining this ſcheme is, that it would have prevented his breeding up the ſeamen, who are now conſtantly employed during the ſummer ſeaſon in navigating deck'd veſſels loaden with merchandize from St. PETERSBURG to CRONSTADT.

The 15th, the wind becoming fair, I embarked on the MARIA CONSTANTIA, a ſmall yatch belonging to DANTZIG, and after the ordinary ceremonies of ſearching the ſhip, and calling over the paſſports, we were ſuffered to depart. The next day we advanced the height of HOGLAND, obſerving the ſeveral iſlands and rocks on the FINLAND ſhore. Being almoſt calm, we had a view of the iſland the whole day: there are but few parts of it capable of cultivation; however it has a ſmall number of inhabitants on the eaſt coaſt, as alſo on the weſt, who are all miſerably poor. The RUSSIAN fleet being then at ſea, a ſloop belonging to the crown came out with us to examine if all the buoys and flags in the low water ſoundings, were in proper order.

The LUTHERAN ſeamen, as well as others of that religion, are great advocates for pſalm-ſinging. I obſerved they modulate their voices to a

tone conſiſtent with pious thoughts, without that extravagant vociferation practiſed in ſome churches among proteſtants, and very contrary to the burleſque devotion of thoſe who make a diſcordant babbling without ſinging at all. This ſeems to be a reproach to wealthy pariſhioners, in whoſe breaſt it is to rectify this abuſe, by giving money to teach young perſons to ſing. In the ſeveral voyages I had made, this was the firſt in which I diſcovered any marks of piety among ſeamen: the ſtrongeſt profeſſion they generally make of the being of a God, is that of ſwearing by his name.

The uneaſineſs I ſuffered by the ſea ſickneſs, made me rejoice at the ſight of REVEL, the capital of ESTONIA, where the maſter was engaged to touch. The 18th in the morning we went on ſhore, and were conducted to vice-admiral BAUSE, commander of the port, of whom, according to cuſtom, it was neceſſary to aſk permiſſion to enter the town. This place, which is 50 leagues diſtance from St, PETERSBURG, ſubmitted to PETER the GREAT, by capitulation in October 1710. The plague had then raged with ſuch fury, that of 50,000 inhabitants, not 4000 remained to receive their conquerors. The RUSSIANS did not immediately enter the city, thouſands of dead bodies being yet unburied. This place having thus ſubmitted by capitulation, is taxed only with the ſupport of a garriſon of 5000 ſoldiers with quarters, and 3000 ſeamen, with quarters, fire and candle, which may be reckoned an expence of four rubles a man [b]. Within the walls are about 600 houſes, containing near 8000 ſouls: the people ſeem to be formal and reſerved, but live in ſuch great eaſe and ſecurity, that they might ſleep with their doors open. Induſtry prevails ſo much here, that I was in more than one private family where they ſpun, dyed, and manufactured both in cotton and wool. Beſides the number of inhabitants already mentioned, there is a large ſuburb indifferently well peopled.

This was formerly a free town, and one of the greateſt ports on the BALTIC, NARVA being its only competitor. The RUSSIANS then brought the produce of their own country, as well as that of PERSIA to this mar-

[b] Amounts to 6800 l.

ket.

ket. The houſes, which are of the moſt durable materials, ſeem all prepared for the reception of merchandize, the firſt apartment into which one enters, appearing to be a large warehouſe. The trade of this town at preſent is but ſmall. The country abounds in corn, of which they have generally great magazines. They have formerly exported 14,000 laſts, or 28,000 tuns ENGLISH, of all ſorts of grain, which, at a moderate computation, is worth 20 rubles a laſt. The SWEDES uſed to take off great quantities, but ſince the laſt war, and the jealouſy which ſubſiſted between the two crowns, during the ſpace of three years, they had made no ſale for exportation, except for the uſe of the RUSSIAN army. They have alſo exported 2 or 3000 ſchippounds [c] of hemp and flax. The flax coming from about DORPT is equal to that of MARIENBURG.

The imports of this town conſiſt in about 300,000 rubles value in piece-goods and other neceſſaries for the conſumption of the town and province. Alſo about 2000 laſts, or 6000 tuns of ſalt, which is conſumed in the province for curing meat and fiſh, and eaten with bread, according to the cuſtom of the poorer ſort of people. The price of ſalt varies in proportion to the quality and quantity, from 33 to 44 dollars, of 80 copeeks [d] per laſt of 18 barrels, and in theſe dollars they keep their accounts. The ſalt of IVICA [e] is ſo much ſuperior in colour as well as in ſtrength, as to be 15 per cent. heavier in weight than the ſalt of SETUVAL [f], and the grain ſo large, and produces ſo ſtrong a brine, as to be 30 per cent. better in price. They have alſo ſalt from the iſland of MAYO [g], and from CAGLIARI [h]; the laſt in ſtrength is equal to that of LISBON or SETUVAL, but otherwiſe much inferior.

Great part of this city ſtands upon an eminence, and commands an extenſive proſpect, particularly towards the ſea. The ſtreets are neither broad nor regular: the houſes are lofty, having ſteep roofs to carry off

[c] This weight is about 7 per cent. better than the RUSSIAN BERQUEVITZ. [d] Three ſhillings and ſixpence. [e] An iſland in the MEDITERRANEAN, near MAJORCA. [f] A town in PORTUGAL, vulgarly wrote St. UBES. [g] One of the cape DE VERD iſlands. [h] Capital of SARDINIA.

the ſnow. The city is defended by outworks, a mote, and a wall about 6 feet thick, and 40 high, with turrets every 60 or 80 yards; the walls ſeem to be very antient. This town is governed by the LAND RATH, compoſed of the governor of the town, and twelve gentlemen or noblemen, who are a kind of ſenate. Theſe take cognizance of all matters relating to the province and to the nobility, and determine all ſuits by a majority of voices; but there is a liberty of appeal to the college of juſtice in St. PETERSBURG.

The affairs of the town are governed by a magiſtracy compoſed of four burgo-maſters, three ſecretaries, and fourteen magiſtrates. The town houſe is an antient building, but contains nothing remarkable except ſome paintings which are in great eſteem, as the judgment of SOLOMON, St. JOHN the baptiſt beheaded, the trial of SUSANNA, and our ſaviour's ſentence of the adultereſs. The city muſic, conſiſting of ſix hands, entertains the populace from the windows of this building every ſunday and thurſday, from 11 to 12 at noon.

Here are four LUTHERAN churches for the citizens, and one for the peaſants of the adjacent country; alſo two GREEK churches for the uſe of the RUSSIANS, whoſe number however is not great. The largeſt and moſt ſuperb edifice is the great church of St. OLAUS, the antiquity of which I could not learn: the many changes this province has undergone have deſtroyed their records. The only ornaments of it are a few monuments and enſigns of honour of ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen of the province who had been interred in the church. This is alſo the common burial place for a great part of the town, of which I had a very ſenſible proof, in the offenſive ſtench that aroſe from the pavement. The ſtones over the vaulted ſepulchres were of a prodigious ſize, ſo that they were moſtly broken. The citizens of REVEL are extremely tenacious of their reſpective properties in the vaults, and entertain a ſuperſtitious reverence for the church, as a repoſitory of the dead. I could not help expoſtulating with my friend who conducted me, on the groſs abſurdity of injuring the living for the ſake of the dead, or rather that the living injure themſelves, from a fooliſh pride, or mere ſenſeleſs ſuperſtition. It

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is however too common to ſee men ſlaves of cuſtom, violating the freedom of their own minds in a fond preſumption of enjoying diſtinctions above the vulgar, even after death. The antients had their ſacred groves for the interment of the dead, which is a cuſtom yet obſerved in the eaſt, as I have had occaſion to mention. Mr. THOMAS CLAYHILLS, a conſiderable perſon in this place, and the only ENGLISH merchant, entertained me with great hoſpitality and politeneſs, during my ſhort abode in this city, which was only one day.

The 19th, we reimbarked, with a gentle gale at north eaſt, and advancing about four leagues, we paſſed by ROGOVIKOFF, which has an open entrance and deep water, proper for ſhips of war; theſe are advantages REVEL does not enjoy, for which reaſon the RUSSIANS talk of making their chief harbour in this place, but it will require a conſiderable expence of timber. The 20th we reached the height of GOTLAND: this iſland is about 70 miles long and 20 broad in the middle part, falling near to a point at both ends. It has 18 towns and villages about four miles diſtance from each other: it belongs to the SWEDES, and was formerly very rich, but has in time of war been often plundered by their enemies; ſo that the inhabitants are not in the moſt flouriſhing condition. The 22d, we paſſed by the RUSSIAN fleet in the night. The next day we had hard gales of wind; I was ſurprized that the maſter kept no account of his run, but he always gueſſed right when we ſhould fall in with any particular land. The 24th in the morning, having run near 200 leagues from St. PETERSBURG, we happily arrived in the VISTULA.

CHAP. XXVIII.

A remarkable occurrence at the mouth of the VISTULA. *A ſhort account of* DANTZIG, *particularly the great* LUTHERAN *church, the arſenal, and fortification. Reflections on the conduct of count* MUNICH *at* DANTZIG.

AT the mouth of the VISTULA we ſaw a frigate of 20 guns, belonging to the crown of SWEDEN, the captain of which had that morning

morning thought proper to oblige the maſter of an ENGLISH merchant ſhip to ſtrike the pendant which he wore. The maſter thought this an arrogant impertinence of the SWEDE, and acquainted all the other maſters of the ENGLISH veſſels with what had paſſed; upon which they all let pendants fly in defiance of the SWEDE. He perhaps was more in the right not to contend with them, than our people to trifle with a diſtinction which is the prerogative of the nation; I mean the reſpect paid the royal ſhips of GREAT BRITAIN, as diſtinguiſhed by pendants. I could not help reflecting upon what little incidents national animoſities often ariſe, and how critical ſome conjunctures are, in which a right judgment is required, that authority may neither be deſpiſed, nor ſtrained beyond its due limits. After a ſtormy night and extreme ſea ſickneſs, I took my leave of the ſhip with great ſatisfaction, in order to purſue my journey by land. The VISTULA has two branches up to DANTZIG, of which the deepeſt is formed into a canal, and machines are employed to deepen it by removing the mud; but veſſels drawing more than 10 ½ feet muſt load at the mouth of the river. There is a caſtle about two ENGLISH miles from the town, which in itſelf does not appear to be ſtrong, though the ſhallowneſs of the water, and the boom which is ſet every night, anſwer the purpoſe of defence for which it was intended. From the caſtle we went up to the town in a TRECK SCHUYTE, which plies at ſtated hours.

The houſes in DANTZIG are for the moſt part of five ſtories, which makes the ſtreets appear the narrower, eſpecially as the entrance into the houſes is by four or five ſtone ſteps, and a balcony, both which make a projection of ten or twelve feet. They are very antient and ſtrong, and preſerved clean, after the manner of the HOLLANDERS, though with leſs nicety; the number and cleanneſs of their glaſs-windows, have an elegant effect. Many of the ſtreets are planted with wild cheſnut-trees about 30 feet high, which by the ſpreading of the leaf afford an agreeable ſhelter. Theſe trees are well known to have a large white flower, which riſes pyramidical, and makes a very agreeable appearance: but the inhabitants are more agreeable than the houſes. The women are much like

like the ENGLISH in their ſtature, countenance and air: they have the reputation of being handſome, and indeed they are as much ſo as any I have ſeen, except thoſe whom they moſt reſemble. The bad ones make a market of their beauty in the worſt manner in the neighbouring countries, where they are remarkably eminent in a profeſſion which is apt to convert beauty into deformity, and health into diſeaſe. Women of diſtinction affect the manner of the POLES, ſo that the moſt reſpectful way of ſaluting a lady, is to kiſs her hand, if one does not chuſe to go ſo low as the hem of her pettycoat, as practiſed by the common POLES. Thus what is politeneſs here, is an affront at NAPLES, as the young GERMAN lately experienced, whoſe wig was ruffled by the fair hand of a lady.

In this place is an ENGLISH factory. I was received with great marks of kindneſs and hoſpitality by Mr. GILBERT ROBERTS, and his nephew Mr. WILLIAM ROBERTS, and with no leſs politeneſs by Mr. GIBSON, who was lately charged with the affairs of the BRITISH court. They live here much after the manner of ENGLAND, and have regular clubs. I was very agreeably lodged in the BEGINE STRASS, at a houſe frequented by ſeveral perſons of the beſt diſtinction, where we were often entertained with POLISH muſic performed by JEWS.

It is eaſy to obſerve a republican ſpirit prevail in this great trading city, and ſome efforts have been made to eſtabliſh this form of government; but the protection of the crown of POLAND, under which it now is, and the animoſities and intrigues of ſome of the citizens, rather throw them back than advance them in this point. I found the people here in great diſcord, occaſioned by ſome arbitrary meaſures of the magiſtracy, which had been oppoſed by the burghers. The referring the affair to the court at WARSAW would infallibly ſubject both parties to a heavy expence, and weaken that degree of independency which they had long enjoyed [i]. As this city has been more than once in danger of becoming the prey of a conqueror, ſuch feuds are ſo much more to the diſhonour of the inhabitants.

[i] This affair was at length ſettled, but not without the expence of ſome thouſands.

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This town is above three ENGLISH miles in circumference, and well fortified with lofty works, and a double ditch of water; the part where it is weakeſt on the weſt ſide, can be eaſily laid under water. Theſe works require 12 or 1500 men to perform the common duty of a guard; but the town at preſent cannot afford above 700. By the civil behaviour of theſe ſoldiers to ſtrangers, one may eaſily obſerve a diſtinction between troops in the immediate pay of citizens, and of thoſe under crowned heads.

Among the curioſities which engaged my attention moſt, was the great LUTHERAN church, which they reckon to be above 300 years old. The wars of GERMANY which at length eſtabliſhed proteſtantiſm in this city, have not however much changed the face of this church, for it was agreed by treaties to leave it in the ſame manner as in the times of popery, as to crucifixes, images, and pictures, &c. They ſhew a very curious piece of painting on wood, being a repreſentation of the reſurrection, done by VAN EYCK, about the year 1400. It is much admired by all connoiſſeurs, particularly for the hands and faces. They ſay it is one of the firſt performances in oil colours: the colouring, by the ſtrength of the varniſh, is yet perfect, and ſo delicate that it will bear the niceſt inſpection. Our Saviour is here repreſented in judgment, with the ſword of juſtice, and the laurel of peace. On each ſide of him are ranged the apoſtles; and below him, as upon the earth, the archangel MICHAEL in armour, ſupporting a ballance. On the ſide which preponderates, is a man with his throat cut, on the other the perpetrator of this act, whom the devils are ready to receive. They are ſuppoſed to have been two brothers, who were both painters, and that envy induced one to deſtroy the other. On the right ſide of the archangel MICHAEL are the bleſſed, of whom a great number are entering in proceſſion into the gates of heaven, repreſented by all the moſt enlivened embelliſhments of architecture. The angels are hovering over the architraves of the columns; the ſerenity of the countenances on one ſide, and on the other the horror and deſpair, with the variety of figures of devils in hideous forms, render this piece very entertaining.

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The arſenal contains a good collection of arms, but as in moſt places of the like nature, it has alſo many which are old and uſeleſs. They pretend to be maſters of 150 large braſs cannon, of which I ſaw ſome ſaid to weigh each 15,000 lbs. The arms of this city are two croſſes under a ducal crown ſupported by two lions.

Within the double works which defend the town, is a ſpacious walk, and a road for coaches; my curioſity carried me to the exterior parts to view the hillock, under which are depoſited the bodies of near 5000 RUSSIANS, who in one morning fell by an obſtinate attack commanded by count MUNICH. The DANTZIGERS in 1734, having eſpouſed the cauſe of STANISLAUS in his competition with AUGUSTUS elector of SAXONY, procured a garriſon of foreign troops to the number of 10,000 men. General LACY, who commanded the RUSSIAN troops which were ſent in behalf of AUGUSTUS, knew the ſituation of the town, and that the point in view by no means required a great hazard of the RUSSIAN army, as the DANTZIGERS muſt neceſſarily ſubmit and abandon STANISLAUS. The count however repreſented LACY to the RUSSIAN court as timorous and inactive, and deſired the command of the army, engaging to take the town immediately; he was accordingly ſent thither, and made the attack with as great fury, as he did afterwards in the TURKISH war at OTCZAKOW. In this attack at DANTZIG he was not conſtrained by any neceſſity, as in the other caſe: without the leaſt breach being made, he marched his men over a ditch againſt a work near 30 feet high, almoſt perpendicular, and againſt a numerous and well ordered garriſon; ſo that of a very conſiderable body only about half a dozen men ever mounted the rampart, and theſe were driven back immediately, the ditch being filled with dead bodies. This general has performed many feats of arms, and acquired a diſtinguiſhed reputation; but it is generally thought he wanted one quality which is eſſential to the character of a great general, as well as a great man, I mean humanity and tenderneſs for his ſoldiers. They ſay that STANISLAUS was ſo much alarmed at theſe fierce attacks, that he was apprehenſive of falling into the hands of the enemy, and that an

old POLISH lord obtained a paſs for himſelf and his lady of the RUSSIAN general, and then gave it to the king, to whom he committed the care of his wife, by which means STANISLAUS made his eſcape without interruption.

CHAP. XXIX.

A general view of the trade of DANTZIG. *The nature of their imports and exports. An account of the coins, weights and meaſures in uſe in that city.*

THE moſt conſiderable part of the trade of DANTZIG conſiſts in corn, which the POLANDERS bring down the VISTULA in large ſtruzes or barks, which carry in bulk about 50 tuns ENGLISH. Theſe barks generally come down annually in very plentiful years to the number of 1600. They reckon by laſts of 11 ENGLISH quarters; the grain is ſmall, but the red ſort often ſells for 180 POLISH gilders the laſt, and rye about half this value. As theſe cargoes are often expoſed to the weather, it is a cuſtom to ſpread their ſails on the banks of the river, and dry their corn on them. They alſo export bees wax annually to near 1000 ſchippounds, for which they often get the price of 300 gilders per ſchippound. Narrow linnens of about 21 inches broad, and ſacking of different qualities for bags and imbalage, are alſo exported to a great amount [k]; alſo pot-aſh [l], weed-aſh [m], and pearl-aſh, this laſt is calcined, and takes its name from its colour. Pipe-ſtaves are alſo a conſiderable article, and oak-plank, of which the greateſt part is 4 inches thick, 16 to 20 inches broad, and 50 feet long [n]. This ſpecies of timber will not ſtand the weather ſo well as ENGLISH oak, but under the water is eſteemed equal.

They import iron from SWEDEN, to the quantity of 1500 or 2000 tuns, but of the woollens and other manufactures of ENGLAND, an inconſiderable quantity [o]. The laws of commerce are very ſtrict to pre-

[k] Some ſay near 100,000 l. [l] Sold then at 50 f. per ſchippound. [m] Sold at 22 ½ f. per barrel of 360 lbs. [n] Of this near 30,000 l. value. [o] See vol. I. p. 56.

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vent one foreigner from ſelling to another, or to reſell to any other burgher than to the perſon he bought of, which muſt neceſſarily cramp the trade very much. PETER the GREAT made a law to the ſame purpoſe for St. PETERSBURG, and it is yet unrepealed; but the government knows very well, that to inforce the execution muſt be extremely prejudicial, and contrary to the maxims of all wiſe ſtates. Even in DANTZIG in the time of the FAIR, which fell out during my ſtay, all ranks and degrees of people are admitted free, to ſell what, and to whom they pleaſe.

POLAND abounds in JEWS, ſaid to be of the tribe of BENJAMIN: whatever tribe they are of, they appear as deſpicable as any people in the world; yet their acuteneſs and induſtry have given them an eſtabliſhment, in which it is the intereſt both of the lords and the clergy to ſupport them; for the trade which they carry on enables them to pay an intereſt of 10 per cent. per annum for large ſums.

They keep their accounts here in gilders, groſch and phennigen, a ducat paſſing for 8 gilders 6 groſch.

THE CURRENT MONEY HERE IS

3	Shillings, or 18 phennigen — — —	1 groſch.
3	Groſch — — — — — —	1 ditkin.
2	Ditkins — — — — — — —	1 ſixer.
3	Sixers — — — — — — —	1 tymph.
7½	Groſch — — — — — —	1 ach de halber.
4	Ach de halbers — — — — —	1 gilder.

A current dollar is 3 gilders, and a ſpecie dollar 4 gilders.

Here are alſo half, whole, 2 gilders, and 4 gilders pieces, of which the laſt is a FRENCH crown of LEWIS XIV. eſteemed the beſt money current, when they have not been in the hands of the JEWS. POLISH coin ſells from 1 to 2 per cent. advance. The exchange is uſually 280 to 290 groſch per pound FLEMISH BANCO. KOENINGSBURG draws in current money, 1 per mil, according to cuſtom, being deducted.

WEIGHT IN DANTZIG.

32 Lote	— —	1 pound.
24 Pounds	— —	1 ſmall ſtone.
34 Dittos	— —	1 large ditto.
120 Dittos	— —	1 centner.
320 Dittos	— —	1 ſchippound, or 2 ¾ hundreds ENGLISH.

The weight is there 4 per cent. lighter than the ENGLISH. A laſt of corn is 60 ſheffelt, but of malt 90.

LONG MEASURE.

12 Inches	— —	1 foot.
2 Feet	— — —	1 ell.
102 Ells DANTZIG	make	50 ells ENGLISH.
6 Dittos	— — —	5 BRABANT ells.

The whole amount of the trade here is ordinarily computed twelve millions of current dollars, on which the duties are about 7 or 8 per cent. One half is called the revenues of the crown, the other the property of the city. This duty is paid in alberts rix dollars of 4 gilders.

CHAP. XXX.

The author leaves DANTZIG, *and travels through* POMERANIA *to* BERLIN.

HAVING paſſed a week agreeably in DANTZIG and provided a chariot, I took leave of my friends. The territories of this city weſtward extend between 2 and 3 GERMAN miles[p]: I paſſed by the convent of OLIVA, which is two miles from DANTZIG, and famous for the treaty of 1660, when CHARLES GUSTAVUS of SWEDEN had made a conqueſt of almoſt all POLAND[q]. The country thus far is agree-

[p] Theſe computed GERMAN miles are in ſome places 4, in others 5 miles ENGLISH: the miles which I mention in the proſecution of this work are GERMAN miles.

[q] His ſon CHARLES XI. made the peace juſt after the death of his father.

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able, though the ſoil ſeems to be very mean. We paſſed through a ſmall tract of POLISH PRUSSIA, where the road is exceeding bad, and the inhabitants poor to a degree of miſery.

At DUNEMORSE, which is five miles from DANTZIG, we entered PRUSSIAN POMERANIA, where the face of things begins to change much for the better. From thence we travelled on to WUTZEN, five miles farther: from thence we advanced into PRUSSIAN POMERANIA to LUPPOW, and paſſing through ſeveral foreſts of ſhrub oaks, we proceeded three miles further to STOLPE. This is a ſmall city, but full of houſes, and ſurrounded with corn and meadow lands, where the inhabitants ſeem to wear their chains with great chearfulneſs and elegance. The common people have a little ſmattering of the FRENCH language. In this place were quartered three ſquadrons, each of 100 HUSSARS. In entering, as well as going out of this town, I was queſtioned from whence I came, my buſineſs, and where I was going: this is practiſed to all travellers in all the towns through the PRUSSIAN dominions; and as it is performed in a regular manner, it ſerves, among other good politics, to ſupport a greater ſenſe of watchfulneſs and military diſcipline.

From STOLPE to SCHLAVE is three miles, over an open pleaſant country of arable lands indifferently well inhabited; but the ſoil through all this country is ſandy, ſo that it can produce but ſlender crops. The peaſants however enjoy the advantage of working their lands with leſs labour. In this place were quartered 100 HUSSARS.

From SCHLAVE to COESLIN is five miles, the road being agreeable in all reſpects except the ſands. This place was not many years ſince burnt down, and is now rebuilt with elegance and regularity, but with great parſimony, which indeed the circumſtances of the people render abſolutely neceſſary. In the market place is a ſtone ſtatue of the late king. From COESLIN to KOERLIN is three miles, and thence to PINNOW four.

The 2d of Auguſt I arrived at NEUGERTEN, 4 miles further; here I found no HUSSARS as in the other towns, but a company of dragoons. The weather was diſagreeably hot, or my inclinations would have carried

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me to STETIN, the trade of which is conſiderably increaſed ſince the preſent king came to the throne. Merchandize is from thence carried up the ODER to BRESLAU and other places. I left it about five miles to the ſouth weſt, and paſſing through MASSOU, I travelled four long miles to STARGARD, the metropolis of PRUSSIAN POMERANIA. In this place there is a cathedral church of great antiquity, built of brick: there are alſo three reformed churches, in one of which the ſervice is performed in FRENCH every ſunday. Here all appeals are made by the ſeveral diſtricts of the country, not under the immediate juriſdiction of the magiſtracies of the different towns. In this place was quartered a regiment of infantry, commanded by prince MAURICE D'ANHALT, which made a fine appearance. From thence to PYRITZ is three miles. This town is ſurrounded by an antient fortification, and has a very large brick church; here were quartered five companies of the BRUNSWICK regiment.

The 3d, I arrived at KOENINSBURG, a ſmall town on the ODER, it has a very pompous church, embelliſhed by the late king at a conſiderable expence, with a fine organ, and ſeveral images of the apoſtles and angels. From thence I travelled three miles to ANGERMUND, paſſing over the ODER on a bridge of timber. On the north bank is a ſtately palace and garden of the margrave of SCHWEDT, with a very neat town of the ſame name adjacent. The avenue to the bridge and town is thrown up between meadow lands, paved and planted on each ſide with willows, as the other ſide is with wild cheſnuts, which intercept the view of corn and tobacco fields. Near this place I paſſed by the bodies of two malefactors who had been broken on the wheel: I obſerved near every town a gallows erected on an eminence; but the good government of this country renders executions very rare.

The palace of the margrave makes the more ſtriking figure, as it is the only object which has the appearance of grandeur or taſte, in the road quite from DANTZIG; for in this country, men of family and fortune all flock to court, and the great article of agriculture, which is the ſource of their ſupport, derives no improvement from their perſonal attendance.

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The 4th, I went from ANGERMUND to NEUST EBERSWALD, three miles: the roads are extremely heavy with ſand. From thence to BERNAU three miles: here, as in NEUST EBERSWALD, were five companies of ſoldiers. This laſt place has a very large church built with brick, ſaid to be 800 years old. From BERNAU to BERLIN is three miles; near this capital the face of things improves, but in no eminent degree: here are no incloſures to beautify the proſpect, nor ſoil to exhibit that perpetual verdure which ENGLAND enjoys. From DANTZIG to BERLIN is 57 GERMAN miles, which are ordinarily computed equal to 250 ENGLISH miles.

CHAP. XXXI.

The author arrives at BERLIN. *Great preparations for amuſement. Several learned men at the* PRUSSIAN *court. A ſhort account of the palace. The king's library and cabinet of curioſities.* ROMISH *chapel. Palace of* MON BIJOUX, *&c.*

THE entrance into BERLIN is airy and elegant; the ſtreets are regular and clean, and the houſes uniform. In going towards the palace on the PONT-NEUF, or new bridge of ſtone which is over the SPREE, is the equeſtrian ſtatue of FREDERICK WILLIAM the GREAT, which is eſteemed a piece of exquiſite workmanſhip; it was erected by FREDERICK I. king of PRUSSIA, who alſo built the palace, the magnificence of which ſtrikes very much. A ſoldier attended me from the gates to my lodging, according to cuſtom, in order to examine my baggage.

Amuſement being the idol of mankind, eſpecially in courts and great towns, I was not ſurprized to find this city full of buſy, pleaſant countenances. The king was preparing ſome grand ſpectacles for the entertainment of FREDERICK margrave of BARREITH, who is married to his eldeſt ſiſter, and of FREDERICK WILLIAM, margrave of SCHWEDT, who is married to his fourth ſiſter; theſe two princes and their conſorts were the king's gueſts.

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There were ſeveral perſons here whoſe fame for learning and polite literature has been ſpread over EUROPE: among theſe was VOLTAIRE, whoſe allegiance as a ſubject, the king of FRANCE has yielded to his PRUSSIAN majeſty. The liberal praiſes he had beſtowed on the ENGLISH nation were now ſuppreſſed, as not likely to advance his intereſt at the PRUSSIAN court [q]. Baron POLNITZ, author of the memoirs [r] known by his name, was alſo there; likewiſe PELLOUTIER, author of the hiſtory of the CELTES [s]. But no perſon among the literati is more amiable than doctor LIEBERKYN, with whom I had the honour of being intimately acquainted; he is diſtinguiſhed for his great ſkill in phyſic and natural philoſophy, which he learnt moſtly in ENGLAND and HOLLAND. He has alſo ſtudied anatomy with indefatigable induſtry, and with a large and unpromiſing hand, has performed the niceſt things imaginable in the fine parts of the body, by injecting them with red wax; but his diſintereſted practice, the humanity and tenderneſs which he has always ſhewn his patients, and his great charity to the poor, render him the minion of the people: notwithſtanding this they do not reward his merits, even making allowance for the great difference between ENGLAND and PRUSSIA. As a proof of the eſteem in which the doctor is at court, though in reality no courtier: the king ſpeaking of him once to the FRENCH miniſter, uſed theſe words, "You may ſpeak ill of me, and poſſibly be heard favourably, but no body will hear LIEBERKYN's name mentioned with "reproach." Among many perſons of diſtinguiſhed abilities, the king has brought from PARIS Mr. SCHMIDT, one of his own ſubjects, who in the art of engraving has hardly a ſuperior.

With regard to the curioſities of BERLIN, the firſt object that ſtrikes one is the king's palace [t], one of the ſides of the interior ſquare of this building is no ways equal to the reſt, being the old apartment once inhabited by the king's grandfather, which has not been yet rebuilt, as was intended, when the plan of this ſuperb ſtructure was formed. The walls of the grand front are

[q] He has however made honourable mention of the ENGLISH, in his late piece called the age of LEWIS XIV. [r] Theſe memoirs give a good idea of the perſons moſt diſtinguiſhed in EUROPEAN courts 20 years ago. [s] Antient BRITONS, who tranſplanted themſelves from this iſland into BRITAINY, and to this day retain much the ſame language as the WELCH. [t] They call it the CHATEAU, or caſtle.

not

not leſs than 7 or 8 feet thick, ſo that the rooms not receiving ſufficient light from the windows, are ſhown to great diſadvantage.

'Tis a pleaſure to obſerve the great œconomy of this court, as well that which has prevailed in former times, as in the preſent reign: the apartments in the palace are adorned with ſilver in every ſhape, but ſo maſſy that the faſhion of it comes to no more than 7 per cent. ſo that about four millions of dollars might be realized with great eaſe whenever the exigencies of the ſtate ſhould require. Here is the picture of CHARLES V. and his empreſs, the frames of which are of ſilver, each weighing ſix centners[u]: and there is a grand crown luſtre of 17 centners. There are alſo pieces of three, four or five centners, to the number of above 150; likewiſe a muſic gallery adorned in a grand taſte all of ſilver; and one end of a large apartment for about 20 feet high and as many broad, is richly furniſhed with gilded plate. All this is merely or parade; the court has other ſervices of plate for uſe.

The king's particular apartments, though elegant, have nothing extraordinary, the prevailing taſte is white ſtoco and gilding. The picture of ſigniora BARBERINI is in ſeveral of the chambers, more I believe for the love he bore her as a fine dancer than as a woman; for ſhe no ſooner gave herſelf the airs peculiar to people of her profeſſion, than he convinced her that his heart was poſſeſſed by objects of a more important nature, leaving her to purſue her own pleaſure. Several of the private apartments have tables, with pens, ink, and looſe papers, which indicate the diſpatch of buſineſs, more than the regularity and elegance one naturally expects to find in a royal palace. The hall has ſeveral good paintings, and the grand ſalloon is adorned with four pieces of tapeſtry, repreſenting our ſaviour driving out the money-changers, his waſhing of feet, the draught of fiſh, and his laſt ſupper. The throne in the audience chamber is of velvet, embroidered with gold, in a grand taſte, but not loaded with ornaments. There is nothing extraordinary in any of the apartments of the old quarter of the palace, except a bed of crimſon velvet, which has above two hundred cyphers with electoral crowns, all

[u] A centner is 110 pounds.

ſet with pearls; the chairs in the room are in the ſame taſte. In this bed it is uſual to lodge perſons of the royal blood on their marriage night. The arſenal forms one ſide of the palace, and is an elegant ſtructure, but it has rather too great a profuſion of ornaments: it is ſaid to be well furniſhed, however as great part of the arms were ſent into SILESIA, and I muſt have gone through ſome troubleſome ceremonies, I declined viſiting it.

From the palace I went to the library, which would be deemed a mean apartment for a common ſchool. Thoſe who make the appearance of gentlemen have the liberty to read there from ten in the morning till two in the afternoon. Here is a collection of bibles, to the number of 500 of different languages and editions. SAURENS paraphraſe of the bible in FRENCH is alſo here in five volumes folio, compleated by BEAUSOBRE in the UNITED PROVINCES; it has fine copper plates, and is a work much eſteemed. The firſt volume has the arms of ENGLAND, having been preſented by king GEORGE I. to his late PRUSSIAN majeſty. Among many others they ſhow the identical bible which CHARLES I. uſed when he was beheaded; it was given as a kind of relic by doctor JUXTON to the elector of BRANDENBURG. There is alſo the firſt bible ever printed in AMERICA, and one of 1450, the firſt printed in the GERMAN language. They alſo ſhow the khoran in manuſcript in a ſmall octagon, the character ſo minute, and the paper ſo thin as to form only the bulk of one inch and a half; beſides ſeveral folio manuſcripts on religion, morals, politics, &c. ſaid to have been compoſed by cardinal MAZARIN.

The cabinet of curioſities contains very few diſtinguiſhed rarities; the moſt remarkable, as they appeared to me, are the following: a marble cupid much admired: two cannon balls, which meeting in the air, the warmth of the iron [a], and the violence of their motion, unitedthem together: an oak with ſtag's horns; the ſtag having been hunted with great violence, ran his horns into a young tree, and there expired; and the tree growing, the horns at length appeared as a natural production.

[a] Perhaps they were made hot, as is ſometimes practiſed, if it is really fact that they met and joined.

As

The Arsenal at Berlin.

The Romish Chapel at Berlin.

As there is no art but the king affects ſome knowledge of it, the new chapel was deſigned by himſelf: it is neat and commodious, but too low to be either grand or elegant. The pulpit is in the modern groteſque taſte, and too lofty for the height of the building. The roof is ſupported by a double row of pillars, which dividing the chapel increaſe the appearance of its length. This place is intended as a royal ſepulchre, and has already ſome tombs of the king's predeceſſors. The ROMISH chapel ſo much talked of in all proteſtant countries, was not near compleated, the fund being almoſt exhauſted. As we make our hoſpitals more grand than our palaces, the ROMANISTS generally make their churches built by charity, the moſt magnificent of any other. This ſtructure is not large, but richly ornamented.

MON BIJOU is appointed for the reſidence of the queen mother, who is a ſiſter of his majeſty the king of GREAT BRITAIN. This is a little palace on the SPREE, the apartments of which are ſmall, but elegantly furniſhed. There is a pretty gallery of blue and white CHINA porcelain, and an apartment called the kitchen, with ſeveral rich pieces of SAXON porcelain. The queen mother being now in her 64th year, ſpends a great part of her time in her ſtudy, and has a good collection of books. The object that ſtrikes the eye moſt in this little palace, is the picture of a lady, called LA BELLE PARISSIENE; her adventures may be beſt known by the novel under the ſame name. It is certain her charms captivated the heart of a great prince, whoſe memory is revered by the BRITISH nation. The gardens of this palace are ſmall, but proportioned to the ſize of the building.

The moſt elegant modern edifice is the opera houſe; the ſcenes are ſplendid, and of an exquiſite taſte, but the want of a painted cieling and other ſtanding ornaments, render the interior part leſs pompous than the exterior. The pillars which ſupport the roof, and are calculated to throw the whole into a grand ſalloon, are apt to obſtruct the movements of the ſcenes. It has three galleries, and is reckoned to contain above 2000 perſons. The orcheſtra conſiſts of about 50 muſicians, the pay of which is moderate. The king is more liberal to the ITALIAN ſing-

ers, of whom he had nine or ten; ASTRUA and SALEMBENE were the moſt diſtinguiſhed; but neither of them will amaſs a miniſterial eſtate, as ſome of their profeſſion have done in OTHER COUNTRIES, which however are now grown wiſer. This amuſement is entirely ſupported at the king's expence, and in ſome degree rendered ſubſervient to the ends of his government. Among other good politics, he has learnt the art of rendering himſelf acceptable more by a polite addreſs than a profuſion of expence. When ASTRUA firſt ſang before him, he aſked what her ſalary was, ſhe told him 3,500 dollars, "Indeed, ſaid he, madam, ſuch "ſinging as yours well deſerves 4000," and accordingly he ordered this appointment.

The extreme delight which the king takes in muſic, and the great perſonal knowledge he has of that ſcience, have carried this entertainment to a great perfection. The dreſſes, the ſcenes, and the machinery in the opera of PHAETON, were indeed moſt elegant and magnificent. In the upper galleries on each ſide of the ſtage ſix trumpeters are ſeated, who ſalute the queen conſort and the queen mother when they enter the houſe or retire, with this martial muſic, which heightens the pomp and chearfulneſs of the entertainment; but the king himſelf who acts in a ſphere ſuperior to the rules of pompous ceremony, excuſes this ſalutation to his own perſon.

I have already obſerved, that this ſeaſon was devoted to amuſement, which laſted about ten days; in this time ſeveral operas, concerts, and maſquerades were exhibited; but the moſt diſtinguiſhed was the CARROUSEL [w], the expence of which amounted to 70,000 crowns. This ſplendid ſhow fell in with the taſte of ſeveral young perſons of diſtinction then at court, and did not much affect the king's pocket. The inſtitution of tilts and tournaments, ſeems calculated to raiſe an emulation to excel in horſemanſhip, and in the uſe of the ſpear and ſword; which is indeed promoting a ſenſe of military glory. This entertainment conſiſted of quadrilles, or four companies, in the dreſſes of ROMANS,

[w] LEWIS XIV. made a ſplendid entertainment of this ſort in 1662, in the habits of TURKS, INDIANS, ROMANS, PERSIANS and AMERICANS, of which VOLTAIRE makes mention.

CAR-

The Theatre at Berlin.

Vol. II.

CARTHAGINIANS, GRECIANS and PERSIANS, all mounted on horſes richly capariſoned in the ſame manner, each party being compoſed of ſix combatants; the firſt was conducted by AUGUSTUS WILLIAM, the prince of PRUSSIA, the other three by his two brothers[x], and the margrave the king's couſin. They had alſo the arms of the ſeveral nations, and were followed each by a band of muſic proper to the reſpective countries, and habited and attended after the ſame manner. The proceſſion of the whole made a ſplendid figure, though in my judgment it was only of the theatrical kind, for I ſaw but little of the pride and beauty of horſes, or horſemanſhip; nor was the area allotted for this entertainment half big enough. What rendered the firſt trial ridiculous, was its being exhibited by the light of lamps, the greateſt part of which were blown out by the wind: however this inconvenience was remedied in the repetition which was ſhown in broad day, and the prizes allotted to thoſe who were judged to perform beſt, without any other blood-ſhed, than that of prince LOBKOWITZ cutting his toe with his own ſword.

A mock battle was afterwards fought, which was incomparably a more grand entertainment. Four thouſand men having marched out in the morning early about a GERMAN mile from the city, near the village BRITZ, were followed by another detachment of the ſame number: the HUSSARS and CUIRASSIERS had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes on the way. Both armies plied their field artillery warmly; at length a rivulet was paſſed, a wood was attacked, and the enemy driven from it to a village, which was carried ſword in hand. After this they went through all the various evolutions and exerciſes of both cavalry and infantry, as might be ſuppoſed in a real engagement, changing their poſitions on a tract of about two ENGLISH miles, during the ſpace of three hours. At this ſhow almoſt the whole city of BERLIN was preſent.

[x] FREDERICK HENRY LEWIS, and AUGUSTUS FERDINAND, and FREDERICK WILLIAM margrave of BRANDENBURG SCHWEDT

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

Reflections on courting the acquaintance of the great. Remarks on the conduct of ENGLISH *travellers abroad. Some account of field marshal* KEITH. *A short description of the city of* BERLIN. *The number, industry, and temper of the inhabitants. Their coins, exchange, &c.*

THE conduct of princes as well as of private men, is subject to be directed by personal prejudices: of this we have an instance in the disagreement between the courts of LONDON and BERLIN. It was observed that lord MALTON [b], who arrived in BERLIN at this time, did not receive that distinguished civility which was due to his quality and merit; if we measure it by that familiar conversation, which is usual at the PRUSSIAN court from the king himself. The queen mother was indeed extremely courteous to his lordship, as well as to Mr. WATSON, and not less to their companion, the agreeable and humane colonel FORRESTER.

This young nobleman being remarkably sober, and his character in all respects very amiable, I thought it my duty, especially as he was in the same inn, to pay him and his companions my respects, and they were so polite as to return my visit. I cannot say however that I approve of the conduct of those who are forward in courting great acquaintances, of whom they stand in no need; on the contrary this incident afforded me an occasion of reflecting what strangers some men are to their own happiness and dignity, who are contented to be little among the great, in hopes of being great among the little, especially such as launch into a dangerous expence on this account. Men of high birth and large fortunes, who are also distinguished for politeness of manners and improved understandings, become indeed a kind of oracles; but the enjoyment of their company by persons in another sphere, should be considered as a feast not sought for, but to which we might occasionally accept an invitation. Gentle passions and moderate enjoyments in the track of religion and common sense, are things always within our reach, and certainly productive of the end we aim at. What a folly is it then to run hazards

[b] Now marquis of ROCKINGHAM.

in

in ſearch of the mere ſhadow of felicity? The generality of thoſe who figure in the higheſt ranks of life, by an almoſt neceſſary conſequence have their titles and eſtates ingrafted into their thoughts; nor can they with more conſiſtency converſe with thoſe who are neither dignified with titles, nor equal to them in fortune, than the learned can be ſuppoſed fond of the converſation of the illiterate; though there are doubtleſs many exceptions. Men who know the world and themſelves, ſhould conſider how far the admonition[y] of a very wiſe man on this ſubject is as true now as it was 2000 years ago. Under abſolute monarchs, the nobles, though ſlaves, partake of a deſpotic authority, and are often diſpoſed to inſolence; when the proudeſt noble in a free country can be better held within bounds. In ſuch a nation one common freedom creates a certain equality, which ought to be deemed more valuable than the diſtinctions of fortune or title. Though the admonition I have juſt referred to, ſeems to teach a leſſon for the ordinary œconomy of human life, yet it ought by no means to create any general prejudices; becauſe perſons of the higheſt diſtinction differ from others of the ſame rank, in probity, politeneſs, and humanity, as men of lower conditions do from perſons of their level. The eſſential quality of characters depends not on titles or great eſtates; theſe indeed, like a rich jewel ſet with art and elegance, give virtue a luſtre, which in the eyes of common mortals, would not appear ſo well through any other medium; therefore they are uſeful to the ſociety in this reſpect, as well as from the due ſubordination ariſing from them. I remember an advertiſement for the ſale of a houſe, which the proprietor thought to recommend by its neighbourhood to a lord; whilſt another publiſhed his, as entitled to a preference, becauſe it was twenty miles diſtant from the habitation of any nobleman. Perhaps they were both equally miſtaken if they intended to give any inſtruction.

With regard to ENGLISH travellers, it has been generally remarked, that few people in the world are more deficient in politeneſs and mutual regards as countrymen, when they accidentally meet abroad; whilſt the SCOTS ſhew a particular affection to each other, ſometimes even to excite a jealouſy a little injurious to the common intereſt of both nations.

[y] Thirteenth chapter of Eccleſiaſticus.

We

We are indeed but one and the ſame people: I am not able to ſeparate the idea by any other reflection than that which I have juſt mentioned. Their conduct naturally ariſes from their circumſtances, as being the leſſer nation of the two, and not ſo affluent in point of wealth. It ought to be preſumed alſo, that when the diſtinction ſhall be more loſt, their conduct at large will be as generous as it has been political. We may hope that induſtry and arts will be encouraged amongſt them ſo as to render them in no reſpects inferior to the inhabitants of the other parts of the iſland. It is plain they excel in a national affection for each other: nor do their colder regions diſqualify them for friendſhip, as I know by experience.

As to the indifference of the ENGLISH, it may ariſe from a national pride, from a reſerve peculiar to us, or perhaps from that general commerce we have in all parts of the world, which makes us always at home, or in fine from a jealouſy of making acquaintance abroad which we do not chuſe to continue at home. Whatever the cauſe or effect may be, it ſeems a duty upon the principle of national policy, to take every favourable opportunity of ſhewing a proper reſpect abroad to thoſe who are moſt diſtinguiſhed at home; for this plain reaſon, that foreigners muſt conceive a mean opinion of our union and national love, from whence our importance is ſuppoſed to be in ſome meaſure derived, when they obſerve that we ſhow no ſort of regard for one another.

I had more than once the mortification of hearing ſtories to the diſadvantage of ſome of our countrymen of fortune who travel for improvement. I knew an inſtance of one who was recommended to a certain merchant of very great conſequence: this youth came to him late at night, and, with a certain fierceneſs peculiar to young men who have more money than politeneſs, demanded the adjuſtment of his accounts. The merchant very courteouſly deſired him to wait till the morning, "no, "ſays the young man, I muſt go inſtantly out of this damn'd country "of HOLLAND, for I hate the DUTCH moſt damnably." The merchant, who was himſelf a DUTCHMAN, ſaid to him, "Pray, Sir, why "do you hate the DUTCH, have you any particular reaſon?" "No, re-

"plied

" plied the young gentleman, but I hate them damnably; I believe the " hatred was born with me." But in oppoſition to this inſtance, we muſt do ourſelves the juſtice to obſerve, that no nation produces ſuch a contraſt of characters as ENGLAND; for many of our travellers are diſtinguiſhed abroad as men of learning and humanity, poſſeſſed of true politeneſs and generoſity of ſpirit, above the people of any country in the world.

The cuſtom of BERLIN, joined to the motive of a ſmall acquaintance in RUSSIA, induced me to wait on field marſhal KEITH, the governor of that city, who received me with that politeneſs for which he has been always diſtinguiſhed. This nobleman's leaving the RUSSIAN ſervice, and going into that of PRUSSIA made ſome noiſe in the political world. To enter into the reaſons of his conduct is not my buſineſs; but it ſeems very eaſy to reconcile, if we conſider his genius and principles, and the previous aſſurances which it is probable he received, of that kind reception which he has experienced in BRANDENBURG. It is preſumed that he is not ſo happy as to entertain the ſame ſentiments in every reſpect of the lawful ſovereign of this country [z], as every unprejudiced perſon muſt adopt, whether at home or abroad; yet from his own natural good ſenſe and diſcernment, he treated the rebellion, even at its height, as immeaſurably raſh and extravagant, and thoſe unhappy men who embarked in it, as plunging themſelves into a gulph of miſery: a truth which they very ſoon felt, the leaſt wretched of them ſeeing themſelves, as they ever will ſee themſelves, the dupes of their foreign pretended friends.

I have already mentioned the conduct of count MUNICH: his deſperate enterprize at OTCZAKOW was warmly oppoſed by field marſhal KEITH, who then ſerved in the RUSSIAN army under that general, and was ordered upon the attack: a lucky ball on the firſt onſet taking his knee, he was lamed on this occaſion, and carried off that ſcene of ſlaughter. This general enters deeply and faithfully into the ſervice of his maſter the king, in commercial as well as military affairs; and the

[z] GREAT BRITAIN.

king knows how to acknowledge his ſervices. Whether he was a ſecret ſpring of the EMBDEN ſcheme, as ſome ſay, I know not; but it is certain he is a great encourager of manufactories. During this viſit I had an opportunity of ſeeing a ſpecimen of PRUSSIAN military diſcipline: a common ſoldier, without any notice, came into the field marſhal's preſence, and preſenting his arms in form, delivered a paper. The field marſhal bid me take notice of the exactneſs of their diſcipline, which he himſelf confirmed by his inſtant obedience of the ſummons.

Several incidents having given mutual offence to the courts of St. PETERSBURG and BERLIN, many in both countries frightned themſelves with a notion that theſe two powers would engage in a war, eſpecially if the SWEDES ſhould fall into the ſame ideas as the PRUSSIANS; but this ſeemed to be but mere talk. The RUSSIANS would hardly make any offenſive war againſt and the king of PRUSSIA; and this prince is too wiſe to engage in a war, where he has no proſpect of advantage. Beſides there is a moral certainty that ſuch a ſtep would bring the houſe of AUSTRIA on his back, whilſt the RUSSIANS might in the iſſue be too hard for him, by the ſuperiority of their numbers, even though they ſhould loſe a battle or two. The PRUSSIAN dominions are open and unguarded, and might eaſily be laid waſte by the TARTARS and COSSACKS in the RUSSIAN ſervice: for this and other like reaſons it may be, that his PRUSSIAN majeſty ſupports ſo numerous a body of HUSSARS.

The city of BERLIN has a regular fortification, though not very formidable. The frequent wars which happen in GERMANY ſeem to render it an eſſential article to fortify the capitals of ſovereign princes, not only as the reſidence of their courts, but as the place in which a very great portion of their wealth centers.

Strangers remark, that BERLIN is a little PARIS, the FRENCH language being almoſt as well underſtood as the GERMAN. This city abounds in elegant ſtructures and regular ſtreets, and is computed near one third as big as LONDON, yet it has not above one eighth part of the inhabitants; from

from whence it may be eaſily accounted why graſs is found growing in many of their capital ſtreets. The inhabitants were formerly computed at 80,000; now they are reckoned 110,000, including the garriſon of 10,000: all the PRUSSIAN dominions, SILESIA excepted, hardly contain two millions of people.

This acquiſition of 20,000 inhabitants and ſubjects is imputed to the good conduct of the king, in granting privileges and lands, ſufficient to induce many to eſtabliſh themſelves in this capital; and conſidering this country is ſo extremely deſpotic, and military, without any foreign trade, and ſurrounded by neighbours who want little or nothing of them, manufactories here may be ſaid to flouriſh. They make woollen cloth ſufficient for the army and great part of their home conſumption; and SILESIA is well known to produce a great ſupply of linnens, which are ſent all over EUROPE and alſo to AMERICA. Their export of woollen cloth to RUSSIA, was once conſiderable, but at preſent is very ſmall. So many thouſands of FRENCH manufacturers having found protection in this country, gold and ſilver lace, and wrought ſilks are hardly to be bought in any place ſo cheap: they talk of prohibiting thoſe of FRANCE.

Humanly ſpeaking, nothing is ſuperior to induſtry. We often find that things which appear contrary to nature, are brought to perfection by perſeverance and labour. Indeed I was ſurprized to learn, that the ENVIRONS of BERLIN produced 400 lbs. weight of raw ſilk; and ſome of the courtiers who eſpouſed commercial ſchemes moſt, flattered themſelves that the climate would admit of a large production of this kind; to me it appears next to impoſſible: and though the king has taken the manufactories of ſilk into his own hands; ſtill this does not promiſe that ſucceſs which they expect. Some of the people moſt intereſted this way, endeavoured to perſwade me, that whilſt we were debating in ENGLAND about the reduction of duties on CHINA raw ſilk, the FRENCH had taken their meaſures to monopolize this commodity in that empire [b]; and it was

[b] The event ſeems to prove that they were very much miſtaken.

not difficult to diſcern from hence how much they incline to the FRENCH intereſt, whilſt the FRENCH ſecretly wiſh to ſee the wings of the PRUSSIAN eagle clipt.

The exchange in BERLIN is ordinarily about 134 of their dollars for 100 rix dollars in AMSTERDAM. They keep their accounts in dollars, goede groſchin, and phenigen.

18 Phenigen — — — — — 1 goede groſchin.
24 Goede groſchin — — — — 1 dollar.

They reckon 5 dollars to a louis d'or, and 6 dollars 1 ENGLISH guinea, 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ dollars 1 ducat full weight.

The people here were extremely diſtreſſed with variety of coins, ſome of which were very baſe; but the king has found means to run off a great part of it, and eſtabliſh the currency of his own coin only, in order to have a large ſupply for the benefit of trade, and the ſecurity of his ſubjects property.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Reflections on the characters of princes. Early genius of the king of PRUSSIA. *A general view of his diſpoſition. A deſcription of his perſon and manner of life. Some familiar ſtories relating to him. His great taſte and delight in muſic.*

IT is a taſk delicate, if not daring, to attempt, during the lives of princes, to draw even the outlines of their characters. Men are never without blemiſhes, which, to correct in themſelves and others, is the important buſineſs of life: but the daſtardly fears, or vicious ſelf-love of the guardians and teachers of princes, have often prevented the growth of thoſe virtues in men born to empire, which might truly conſtitute them the vicegerents of the Almighty, and make the world happy. The enormous power veſted in ſome princes, which they often direct as thunderbolts at the heads of their own ſubjects; or, what is as bad, at the heads of other nations, would certainly be employed in another manner; if their minds were more improved, and their hearts better directed

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to objects worthy their rank as men, as well as kings. But inſtead of inſpiring princes from their infancy, with thoſe godlike ſentiments of mercy and benevolence, which ought to be inſeparable from power and command; how often are their propenſities to evil nouriſhed till they take root too deep to be extirpated! Thus it happens, that kings conſidered ſimply as men, are ſometimes great objects of compaſſion.

In countries where men have EXCLUDED THEMSELVES from the common bounty of providence, and groan under an arbitrary power, though the prince had as many vices as drew down fire on SODOM, it is not uncommon to amuſe him with flattering appellations, as if he had virtues enough to tranſlate him to heaven: though at the ſame time nothing can be more obvious than this, that true greatneſs of mind would add to their glory more than all the external accidents of royalty.

In the happy iſland of GREAT BRITAIN we think like men; we know how to value the virtues of a prince, but we dare alſo to ſpeak of their vices, whenever they become hurtful to the ſtate. This privilege does indeed deceive ſome into a behaviour inconſiſtent with ſound politics and true religion: forgetting the reſpect that is due to the ſupreme magiſtrate, they convert the bleſſing into a curſe. As in friendſhip between man and man, we can with no conſiſtency allow ourſelves to ſpeak of the failings of others without great tenderneſs; ſo with regard to princes, though we keep within the letter of the law, a wanton indulgence of our tongues muſt weaken that love and reſpect, which is the moſt ſolid foundation of ſubordination. Nor ought this to be deemed too nice a diſtinction or compariſon, much leſs productive of that blind homage which prepares men's minds for ſlavery. In private life friendſhip can ſubſiſt no longer than men are kept within certain bounds; it ceaſes as ſoon as they arrive to a certain degree of viciouſneſs; ſo I imagine will the love of ſubjects towards princes, for human nature being ſtill the ſame, virtue will for ever be the object which we love and revere. The virtues or vices of princes, as of private men, muſt ever render them amicable or ungrateful to their ſubjects; but if we look into the hiſtory of mankind, and

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ſee how nations have been afflicted by the very governments which they eſtabliſhed for their ſupport, and how depraved human nature is; that country has great cauſe to be thankful, whoſe ſovereign, whether his power is limited or deſpotic, has but FEW vices injurious to the community; and whoſe conduct in general is calculated for the ſupport and happineſs of his people.

Thus far in excuſe of what I ſhall ſay of the king of PRUSSIA. This prince is ſaid to be no friend to GREAT BRITAIN, according to the preſent ſyſtem of politics, nor may his conduct be in every reſpect juſtifiable, yet I think he deſerves great encomiums. There is a pleaſure in praiſing the worthy whether they happen to be our friends or not. FREDERICK II. king of PRUSSIA and elector of BRANDENBURG, was born the 24th of January 1712[c], and began his reign the 31ſt of May 1740; ſo that he was 28 years of age when his father died. He had an early taſte of literature and polite arts, and ſhewed a particular paſſion for FRENCH breeding and delicacy of manners, in oppoſition to the inelegant cuſtoms which prevailed at his father's court. It is well known that the late king was a lover of drinking, a vice which in few countries is more familiar than in GERMANY. The prince abominated this vice, and particularly the cuſtom of ſwallowing large draughts of malt liquor. This and other correſpondent circumſtances at length determined him to leave his father in a ſecret manner, and go, as it was ſaid he intended, to the BRITISH court; but the attempt was fruſtrated, and coſt an unhappy gentleman his head.

It is a doctrine which princes do not ſubſcribe to in theory, that ſtrength and power are the beſt rights of the ſovereignties of countries; but I believe it will be found upon experience, that more kings are kept in awe by the combinations which are formed to reſtrain each other's paſſions, and ſupport an independency; than by a ſenſe of moral duties ariſing from the

[c] Son of FREDERICK WILLIAM, by SOPHIA DOROTHEA, the preſent queen dowager, who is ſiſter of his majeſty king GEORGE II. As this prince has hardly ever ſat for his picture, it is rare to ſee a good likeneſs of him; the plate annexed gives a tolerable idea of his perſon, dreſs, and air, though he is made too young.

common

Ant.s Walker Sculp.

The King of Prussia.

common rights of mankind, as founded in their original conſtitution. Whenever a nation is involved in any deep calamity, we may generally obſerve, that more ſtates are diſpoſed to diſtreſs it farther, than to relieve it. If princes reap advantages from the misfortunes in which they ſee their neighbours involved, when there is no other reaſon for their conduct but the greater hopes of ſucceſs; may they not be compared to thoſe who find the beſt opportunity to ſteal when an houſe is in flames? It will not follow from any thing I have ſaid, that the king of PRUSSIA had no right to his conqueſt of SILESIA: that he has conquered it is moſt certain, and we muſt leave to hiſtorians and caſuiſts to determine whether the action was juſt or not.

When princes are really god's vicegerents, religion muſt be the baſis of their government and politics: what notions the prince in queſtion has adopted, I know not; he is reputed by many a free-thinker in the worſt ſenſe of the word; but the rule of his government, and his ſuperiority to the vanities and mean gratifications of life, does not favour ſo harſh a judgment. So far from adopting MACHIAVELIAN principles, the ANTE-MACHIAVEL is ſaid to have been wrote by him, or his favourite VOLTAIRE, in confutation of thoſe maxims which ridicule a ſtrict adherence to equity, and a diſintereſted love of mankind. It is a ſad truth however, that in general men of great parts, and particularly thoſe in eminent life, affecting to move in a higher ſphere than common people, and by the force of their genius to pry into things which the author of nature never intended ſhould be the objects of human reaſon, do often fall into groſſer deluſions than the vulgar. Men of this ſtamp obſerving the infinite variety of modes of faith and forms of worſhip in the world, together with a long liſt of vulgar errors, which in different ages and countries have obtained advocates, are led into a perſwaſion that many diſtinctions which are commonly conſidered as of eternal importance, are of no other conſequence than as political engines of government.

One might be tempted to think, that commercial projects in a country ſo entirely military as PRUSSIA, could hardly be brought to any perfection; yet if we conſider the ſtrict diſcipline of the PRUSSIAN army,

army, it is the more eaſy to be reconciled. I was well aſſured at BERLIN, that of 10,000 ſoldiers in garriſon, not a man had been known for ſeveral months to have committed any violence, or diſturbed the tranquility of the citizens. If this project of a trade to the EAST INDIES takes effect, it is thought the HOLLANDERS will feel it more than any other nation; but it is not leſs the duty of the ſubjects of GREAT BRITAIN to withhold that aſſiſtance which the laws [d] forbid us to grant.

There is one circumſtance in favour of his PRUSSIAN majeſty beyond any other prince in EUROPE, I mean the great œconomy of his government and perſonal expence. The allowance of his table is but 30 crowns [e] a day, fiſh and wine excepted, in which he makes no great expence.

POTSDAM is the favourite reſidence of this prince; here he avoids the empty ceremonies of a court. He ſits down to table with twelve perſons, and after his own miniſters who are moſt in favour, are invited, and alſo thoſe of foreign princes who happen to be at POTSDAM, his officers, even to an enſign, fill up the vacant places. Nor is this the only means of recommending himſelf to the love of his ſoldiers; the meaneſt officer knows that he ſhall be redreſſed in any caſe of injuſtice; that wherever his quarters are, he need but write to the king, and by the return of the poſt he may expect an anſwer, oftentimes wrote by his majeſty himſelf. In his letters he ſometimes goes ſo far as to adviſe where he thinks the party errs in judgment, or is biaſſed by ſome falſe deſire; this alſo renders his ſervice the more valuable. His converſation is free and eaſy, even to jeſting, but he can paſs from the gay to the ſerious in an inſtant,

[d] As to the inſurance of foreign INDIA ſhips at their firſt ſetting out; mankind are become very baſe in moſt countries, and it ſeems prudent for under-writers to try how a new enterprize of ſuch moment is conducted in point of PROBITY as well as ſkill, before they throw themſelves into the arms of thoſe who may be tempted to play tricks, in caſe their buſineſs does not proſper; we may obſerve further, that IF it does not proſper, and no inſurance is made, or none which proves reſponſible, the ſcheme MIGHT be rendered abortive, which is an argument againſt inſuring: we may alſo add, that in a NATIONAL LIGHT it is abſurd to inſure what we do not deſire ſhould ſucceed, and this reaſon, as far as it may be allowed a good one, is againſt the inſuring the ſhips of our enemies in time of war. [e] 5 l. 5 s.

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he ſupports his dignity from the fear, as well as the affection of thoſe about him.

He requires delicate foods, but eats moderately, and mixes water with his wine: he takes SPANISH ſnuff to exceſs, ſo that his cloaths can ſcarce be clear of it; in this inſtance he reſembles the great prince EUGENE. He uſed to drink liberally of champaign, and eat rich fruits ſoaked in ſtrong wine. But having been often afflicted with fevers, he is become abſtemious.

In his perſon he appears rather plump than corpulent, his face looks full of blood, his countenance is inclined to the penſive, but is very expreſſive, indicating in ſome meaſure the inceſſant labour of his mind. Since the late war he is much broken, and ſtoops, which takes off from his figure. He often appears in boots, and always in his regimentals, which are a blue cloth frock with ſilver BRANDENBURGS, and he is maſter only of one change for the winter and another for the ſummer. I ſaw his wardrobe, which is indeed very mean or very grand, according to the impreſſion it gives the ſpectator. In this particular the king is a copy of PETER the GREAT.

His bed, which I particularly obſerved at CHARLOTTENBURG, was in a ſmall alcove or niche, conſiſting only of two mattreſſes under the cover of a down quilt, without the leaſt common ornament or mark of grandeur. He often aſks his moſt familiar acquaintance, if they think the condition of a king above all others the moſt deſirable? and then tells them how eaſily they may rectify their fond opinion, by obſerving what great labour and attention the duty of a king requires.

He is ſo little an obſerver of uſeleſs forms, that he has riſen from his chair at his writing table, and cauſed his engraver to take his place, and write down the orders which he dictated ſtanding. That he has a ſenſe of friendſhip and gratitude, is, I think, obvious from a ſingular circumſtance of his conduct during my abode in BERLIN, and to a perſon with whom I had the honour of being well acquainted. This is Mr. KEITH, whom I knew in PORTUGAL, after he had been obliged to leave his

country in the late king's reign, for his devotion to the ſervice of his preſent majeſty. On his return home it was natural for this gentleman to expect a kind reception; but the king having now adopted other principles, was deſirous to inculcate the neceſſity of obedience to the ſovereign; however he allowed Mr. KEITH a penſion, gave him the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and put him near the queen mother. At length being well apprized of his real worth, he took occaſion to remember his faithful ſervant. In the mock-battle which I have mentioned, this prince ordered a few trees, to a very inconſiderable value, to be cut down in the grounds of madame KNEEPHAUSE, the mother-in-law of Mr. KEITH, with whom alſo the king did not ſtand very fair. The king ſeeing Mr. KEITH at court the day after, called to him, and in very obliging terms aſked him in FRENCH, "Will you do me a pleaſure? Carry this caſket "to your mother-in-law with my compliments, and here is the key of "it." In it were found 10,000 crowns in gold, and a very polite letter to madame KNEEPHAUSE, recommending Mr. KEITH to her in the ſtrongeſt and moſt affectionate terms. This incident gained the king applauſe, in proportion to the great love and eſteem which every one has for Mr. KEITH. This gentleman is of SCOTCH extraction, but his parents for ſome ages have acknowledged allegiance to the houſe of BRANDENBURG.

With regard to filial duties, few private men treat their parents with more reſpect than he does his mother, whom he never approaches covered, nor without the higheſt expreſſions of reverence; when he is in BERLIN he viſits her every day; nor does he treat his ſiſters with leſs politeneſs. He is civil to his own queen, but nothing more: this is a part of his hiſtory which the people do not talk of. I obſerved in the opera houſe that he placed the margravine of BAREITH at his right hand; and when he took his leave, retired backwards two or three yards. GERMAN ceremonies are in ſeveral inſtances troubleſome, and in ſome ridiculous.

Beſides his great ſkill in muſic, he has a taſte for poetry; during his campaign, in that part of the war which was unfortunate[a], after perform-

[a] When he retired from before prince CHARLES in BOHEMIA.

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ing all the duties, and ſuffering all the fatigues of a general in the day, he poſſeſſed ſuch tranquility as to anſwer letters of pleaſure and politeneſs, and even to write verſes in the evening, as I was aſſured by one of his chaplains. His memoirs of the houſe of BRANDENBURG, are a proof of his abilities as an author.

This prince pretends alſo to ſome knowledge in phyſic; he diſputes with his phyſicians, and, after hearing their opinions, generally preſcribes for himſelf. I do not ſuppoſe that this is always the caſe; but he once gave occaſion to a certain phyſician to tell him with that frankneſs with which one may ſpeak to a man of ſenſe, though a king, "All the world muſt "acknowledge your majeſty underſtands how to govern a kingdom; but "give me leave to underſtand my profeſſion alſo as a phyſician."

There is another ſtory current in BERLIN, which I apprehend muſt have had ſome foundation, though the circumſtances are not very credible. When the diſguſt between the courts of LONDON and BERLIN ran high, the king upon ſome jocoſe occaſion, mentioned a certain great prince in terms not the moſt reſpectful; to which his miniſter, who, as the ſtory ſays, was then preſent, made this pertinent and gallant anſwer; "The king my "maſter never rode off the field of battle." This was doing juſtice at once to the eſſential merit and well known valour of the prince in queſtion, and reproving the king for the fault which he committed by an over ſolicitude for the ſecurity of his perſon at the battle of MOLVITZ, where he made his firſt appearance as a warrior.

The great ſecret of life, with regard to the execution of much buſineſs of whatever kind, is a proper and religious diſtribution of the ſeveral hours of the day. No man underſtands this better than his PRUSSIAN majeſty: his conſtitution having ſuffered by taking too little reſt, he now goes to bed early, and ſleeps ſeven or eight hours: by this means he is in a condition to riſe early; and beſides the buſineſs of the cabinet and the parade, he can enjoy his favourite pleaſures of books and muſic; in this laſt he compoſes as well as performs.

It is amazing to conſider a man ſo devoted to buſineſs, and yet ſo paſſionately fond of muſic; how far it may contribute to the VIRTUE of his mind, I know not; it is certainly no vulgar pleaſure. "Of all the enjoyments of ſenſe, ſays an eminent divine, this is the leaſt ſenſual." Indeed its effects, if rightly improved, terminate not in the bare pleaſure of amuſement; it ſeems to be peculiarly adapted to minds ſuſceptible of religious impreſſions; its charms are calculated to inſpire a juſt idea of him who has formed the heart to a reliſh of ſuch delights, endowed us with capacities to proclaim his praiſes, and taught us how to raiſe the ſoul to the raptures of angels.

It may be remarked, that very few perſons who have not a good genius, arrive at any great proficiency in this ſcience, though it ſeems to depend more on the imagination than the underſtanding. It is certain that this enchanting art has made a deep impreſſion on the king of PRUSSIA, who prides himſelf in nothing ſo much, except buſineſs. He generally ſpends a ſhort time in playing on the flute every morning before he goes to his cabinet: here he remains till eleven, and then receives foreign miniſters, and executes buſineſs of a more public nature till noon: he then uſually goes abroad, and gratifies himſelf in ſeeing military exerciſe, and performing the duty of a ſoldier, and keeping up the ſpirit of that diſcipline, which is ſo eſſential to the ſupport of his ſtate and conqueſt. Soon after one he dines, and about three one of his ſecretaries reads to him. In the evening he has a concert; and this is the ordinary manner in which he fills up the day.

The world has talked much of his ſecret manner of conducting buſineſs: it is well known that beſides the execution of ſome important part of it with his own hand; his ſecretaries have every one their private apartment, and each his particular province aſſigned; ſo that if he diſcovers that any of them are unfaithful, there is no difficulty where to fix it.

Notwithſtanding this prince's great abilities, his ſituation ſeems to be uneaſy. It has been ſaid of him, that he once declared he would give his

his right hand to be ſure of poſſeſſing SILESIA during his life. It is highly improbable that he ever did make ſuch a declaration, though it might be made for him by the partizans of the houſe of AUSTRIA.

Immediately after the diverſions I have mentioned were concluded, the king went to BRESLAU; it was remarkable that the houſe in which he was lodged, was in flames without its being known by what means, and his majeſty had but juſt time to preſerve his perſon, narrowly eſcaping from the flames as his father did about 20 years before at DRESDEN. Now I have mentioned BRESLAU, it may be worth obſerving that the king maintains a garriſon of 10,000 ſoldiers in that city, whereas the AUSTRIANS never had near that number. Notwithſtanding ſome appearances, the ſteady hand with which this prince conducts his government, promiſes a happy reign. The time may come when it will be the mutual intereſt of this nation, and the houſe of BRANDENBURG, to reunite again: though religion ſeems to be out of the queſtion in moſt political alliances, yet this conſideration will ever create an inclination to friendſhip among ſtates. The eſtabliſhed religion of BRANDENBURG is much the ſame as ours: we have generally been connected with that houſe; and the preſent good ſituation of it, if the UNITED PROVINCES continue in the condition they are in, may again render a union neceſſary. But whatever changes time may produce in ſtates, ever ſubject to change, honour, I think, will be due to the preſent king of PRUSSIA from us, and all mankind. He has eſtabliſhed a reputation upon the ſureſt foundation, was it only for that bold generous ſtroke in politics, in delivering his country from the jaws of lawyers, who before his time, at leaſt in BRANDENBURG, ſported with the ſufferings of the wretched, and ſaw unmoved the tears of the widow. In the PRUSSIAN dominions, the deciſion of cauſes cannot be protracted to a tormenting and devouring length. How long this will laſt is hard to ſay, unleſs the king has the art of making his ſubjects virtuous, as well as obedient to his edicts. The ſuits in BRANDENBURG are now brought to a ſpeedy iſſue at an eaſy expence, a regulation which could never be made but by the ſingular attention of a ſovereign prince. Why it is not done in limited

mited as well as abſolute monarchies, I know not; unleſs in certain inſtances ſlavery is preferred to liberty, or the name of liberty to the reality of it. The law is certainly an excellent and a neceſſary profeſſion; but too many men are bred up to it; conſequently in purſuit of a ſupport, they deviate from the original deſign, by perplexing with injurious refinements that which it is their duty to make plain and intelligible.

After what has been ſaid in praiſe of the king of PRUSSIA, and of the ſeveral marks of his fine taſte and penetrating judgment, we may contemplate the ſuperior charms of liberty. A man accuſtomed to live under a limited monarchy, who has preſerved a right ſenſe of his condition, will plainly diſcover how little deſirable thoſe circumſtances are, which render it the duty of a father to ſubmit the diſpoſal of his children, as as well as his eſtate, to the arbitrary will of his ſovereign; which muſt ſometimes tempt him, even under ſuch a king as his PRUSSIAN majeſty, to curſe his anceſtors, whoſe folly or cowardice have forfeited the reward of virtue, and the moſt valuable gift which the author of nature has beſtowed on his creatures.

CHAP. XXXIV.

A ſhort deſcription of the palaces of CHARLOTTENBURG. *and* POTSDAM. *Of the* PRUSSIAN *guards, number of the* PRUSSIAN *troops, their arms, cloathing, exerciſe and pay; with a view of the* PRUSSIAN *revenues.*

BEFORE I took my final leave of BERLIN, my curioſity carried me to to CHARLOTTENBURG, which is about a mile diſtance from the city, through a road exceeding ſandy. The king's grandfather founded this palace, and his preſent majeſty has finiſhed it according to his own taſte, which appears to be extremely elegant. There is a range of about ten apartments, few of them large, but well diſpoſed and convenient; they are adorned with white ſtoco and gilding in a very high manner. The ball room is in an exquiſite taſte, and worthy of the king who is ſaid to have deſigned it. It has ten windows on each ſide, and

and beſides the ſtoco and guilding, which are more rich than in the other apartments, it is alſo adorned with buſts, ſtatues and large pier glaſſes. The gardens are laid out with taſte, and the ſtatues well diſpoſed.

Auguſt the 22d, I left BERLIN and went to POTSDAM, which is diſtant 4 miles; the road is very ſandy and diſagreeable. This is the favourite reſidence of the king; it is agreeably ſituated on a branch of the SPREE, which forms a ſerpentine figure, and is near 100 fathoms over. The town is of a conſiderable extent, and the buildings neat and regular, as indeed are thoſe of almoſt every town in BRANDENBURG; but it ſeems to be intirely occupied by ſoldiers. The palace which the king has lately built there, is not large, but elegant, particularly the king's writing-chamber and ſtudy, the laſt is partitioned by balluſtrades of ſilver; the frames of the looking-glaſſes and embelliſhments of the tables are alſo of the ſame metal. There is a large apartment for the officers who dine in it every day at the king's expence. The throne in the audience chamber is magnificently adorned with a rich embroidery of the arms of the houſe of BRANDENBURG, ſupported by two HERCULES's. In one of the apartments are two curious figures in copper, of a CHINESE man ſitting, a woman of the ſame country ſupporting an umbrello over him; the whole piece is richly gilded and ſtands in an oval niche laid with marble; theſe two figures compoſe a very convenient ſtove. They were then lining the grand ſalloon with SILESIA marble, of which the ſtaircaſe was already finiſhed.

In the garden are many rich ſtatues of a great ſize, particularly a NEPTUNE and AMPHITRITE erected on a ſea car in a large baſon, oppoſite the eaſt front of the palace. The ſtables are contiguous, and well furniſhed with good ENGLISH hunters.

In POTSDAM are quartered the king's guards, who are about 2000 men, of great ſtature and comelineſs, well cloathed, and diſtinguiſhed by ſilver laced hats and black cockades. His preſent majeſty has declined thoſe oppreſſive meaſures which the old king practiſed to ſupport this body of men of a prodigious ſtature; they are yet remarkably tall. A certain

certain ENGLISH nobleman being aſked by his late majeſty, "if his maſ-"ter had any equal number of troops who could beat theſe tall fellows," anſwered, "I do not know that the king my maſter has any regiment "who can beat your majeſty's guards; but I dare engage he has one of "half their number that would fight them."

The army which his preſent majeſty keeps on foot, being an object of aſtoniſhment to the curious world, I ſhall mention ſuch particulars as occurred to me; and though many of them may at firſt ſight appear as too minute for judicious obſervation, yet they are not, I think, unintereſting.

The number of troops in the pay of the king of PRUSSIA is generally computed at 120,000; his officers inſiſted they were 140,000. I have ſeen a liſt which makes them yet more numerous, but I believe they do not exceed this number, if they reach it.

This prince has a body of 80 ſquadrons of HUSSARS, each of 130 men. I ſaw many of them in the towns I paſſed through, and was ſurprized by what means they could be collected, ſo youthful, comely, ſtrong and well ſhaped: but the king has his emiſſaries all over EUROPE. Whilſt I was in DANTZIG, a young man of whom I had ſome knowledge, had procured himſelf a lodging in priſon; his debt, which was of about 20 l. was immediately offered to be paid, provided he would enter into the PRUSSIAN ſervice.

The arms of the HUSSARS are a light muſket and ſabre, both which are kept in admirable order. Their cloathing is of coarſe red cloth, made cloſe to their bodies, and ſtrengthened at the elbows by leather in the ſhape of a heart. Their breeches are of well dreſſed ſheep ſkin. Their boots ſhort and light, but the ſoles of them made durable. Their caps are ſtrengthened in the ordinary way, ſo as to ſtand a cut. They are the only denomination of ſoldiers in the PRUSSIAN ſervice who have no chaplain; indeed their number upon the old eſtabliſhment was inconſiderable. One of the chaplains who attended the king in the laſt war, complained to me of the little ſenſe of religion among the HUSSARS; and as an inſtance, mentioned a remarkable piece of villainy committed by one

one of that body. A young man had juſt taken charge of a purſe of money from a dying PRUSSIAN officer, who had enjoined him to deliver it to his wife and children; a HUSSAR came up to him in this interval and demanded the purſe, which the young man refuſed, alledging for what purpoſe he had received it; notwithſtanding which, this lawleſs ſoldier murdered him and took the money [f].

Beſides the HUSSARS, the king has a ſmall body of men whom they call hunters, who are reputed the moſt faithful couriers in his army, and are oftentimes promoted for their fidelity in hazardous enterprizes. The AUSTRIANS are ſaid to have employed men under this denomination among their ranks with pieces loaded with ſingle balls, to mark out the officers of the enemy, in which they are very dexterous. This, which is confeſſedly an unwarrantable practice, induced the PRUSSIANS, according to the report of the latter, to take the ſame method: when theſe hunters are taken priſoners no quarter is granted on either ſide.

The PRUSSIAN ſoldiers in general are remarkable for their very ſhort cloathing, which at firſt view ſeems to be frugality to a degree of ridiculouſneſs, but is moſt plainly calculated for many wiſe ends. Nothing but a blind ſuperſtition for the cuſtoms of our forefathers, could have ſo long kept ſeveral nations ignorant of the ſame management. The PRUSSIAN ſoldiers alſo have their elbows armed with leather, as already obſerved. It ſaves the reputation of patching an old garment; and one never ſees a PRUSSIAN ſoldier the leaſt in rags; on the contrary they all appear as gentlemen, with regard to the cleanlineſs of their perſons.

The king's guards and ſome few other regiments are cloathed annually, but in general the army has new regimentals twice in three years only. The late king required the ſoldiery to wear white ſpatterdaſhes winter and ſummer, but his preſent majeſty obſerving the inconvenience as well as inelegance of it, gives his men black for the winter; theſe are made of fuſtian, or a thick kind of linnen cloth. The ſoldiers have alſo breeches

[f] Whatever the prieſt might imagine, I am afraid ſuch accidents are not unuſual in war, and that a common ſoldier ſometimes kills a friend as well as an enemy.

of woollen cloth in this ſeaſon, whereas in ſummer they are of white dimity or linnen, which are very light and clean. They obſerve an uniformity about their heads by wearing pigtails, which are eaſily kept in repair. They are generally powdered, but always ſo when on duty; and this modern elegance in dreſs not only ſerves to preſerve the natural hair, or wig, but gives the ſoldier a reſpect for his own perſon; and the rank in which he is taught to conſider himſelf, compenſates in ſome ſort for the ſmallneſs of his pay.

The ſoldiers hats, and the caps of the grenadiers are ſmall, but at the ſame time as they anſwer all the purpoſes of a covering and a uniform, their heads by this means are kept the cooler; this muſt afford a conſiderable advantage both in march and action, beyond the ridiculous magnitude of modern coverings, which had once prevailed ſo much in the BRITISH army, that the ſoldiers affected a reputation for courage in proportion to the dimenſion of their hats.

The PRUSSIAN ſoldiers carry their cartouch box much higher than thoſe of any troops I have yet ſeen: this muſt alſo render their march the eaſier, as the carriage of it is ſo much the lighter; and cuſtom muſt make it equally familiar to draw their cartridges: their arms on the other hand are reputed incomparably the largeſt and moſt weighty of any in EUROPE, though ſome of the fuzileers, who are ſmaller bodied men, have their arms proportioned. As to the cleanneſs of them, 'tis hard to believe how far this is carried: a ſoldier can hardly find time to be idle or wicked. Notwithſtanding the great weight of their arms, the tactic art is carried here to the higheſt perfection; and nothing can give more pleaſure to thoſe who have any idea of the harmony of this ſort of motion, than the exerciſe of the PRUSSIAN ſoldiers, which they go through twice a day: when the weather is bad it is performed under cover, for which proper places are appointed. The leaſt motion of the head not according to art, is corrected; ſo that a ſoldier in this ſervice muſt apply diligently to his duty, or he will paſs his time very ill. The frequent repetition of exerciſe ſeems to render theſe heavy arms more familiar to them

them, than much lighter are to ſoldiers kept in idleneſs. Men thus inured to labour, muſt neceſſarily enjoy great advantages in marching; and when they come to action, their heavy arms will bear a greater repetition of diſcharges, carry further with larger balls, and have a greater weight with the bayonet. The king makes himſelf acquainted with circumſtances the moſt minute, however diſregarded through a blind ſucceſſion of ages as things indifferent, well knowing how much the fate of empires may depend on cauſes leſs the objects of common obſervation.

Theſe ſoldiers are not put to any other than military duties; except the natives of BRANDENBURG who in time of peace have liberty by rotation to purſue agriculture and mechanic employments. In reſpect to labour they are conſidered as gentlemen: but drunkenneſs and gaming are puniſhable in the ſevereſt manner.

During the ſummer they ſend bodies of cavalry into the field; at the ſame time that this accuſtoms them to the duty of a campaign, they ſerve alſo as an advanced guard, prevent deſertion among the ſoldiers, and robberies or murders on the roads: for out of theſe detachments, which are generally compoſed of about 100 men and upwards, a watch guard of two men are placed in ſeveral different parts of the roads near their body. None but the king's guards are ever permitted to go without the walls of BERLIN.

In all countries where great armies are ſupported, a rigid diſcipline becomes eſſential, and this his PRUSSIAN ſeems to underſtand. It is thought that many of his ſoldiers are ripe for deſertion, and ſo it appeared to me from ſome particular circumſtances; but foreigners who have already been in ſeveral ſervices, are generally inconſtant.

I have already obſerved, that two thirds of the army, according to their eſtabliſhment, ſhould be compoſed of foreigners, and this reaſon, as well as the ſmall number of inhabitants in the PRUSSIAN dominions, make it obvious how difficult it muſt be to recruit an army; ſo that however formidable this prince may appear, if we conſider his country as little

plentiful in reſources of wealth as of inhabitants, that ſtrength muſt be deemed artificial in a great meaſure, which has ſo great a connection with foreign dependencies: however all the world muſt allow, that the ſtrength derived from the acquiſition of SILESIA, which conſtitutes a great part of this prince's power, is more natural; whether it is more ſtable ſhall not be my buſineſs to enquire.

The pay of a common ſoldier in this country is eight groſch [g] a week, and of this three pence is ſuppoſed to go in waſhing, and materials for cleaning their arms, for which they are ſo much diſtinguiſhed; but they are allowed bread.

Upon this calculation 120,000 men coſt but 364,000 l. ſo that if we reckon thrice this ſum, in order to include their ammunition bread, the pay of officers, and cloathing, it does not much exceed a million ſtirling; ſuch is the incredible force of diſcipline and œconomy: but this is a leſſon with which we are not well acquainted in GREAT BRITAIN. One remarkable proof of this œconomy is, that the PRUSSIAN army, as well as all the officers of the crown, receive their pay before it is due: SILESIA, according to ſome calculations, ſupports near 40,000 men; from whence we may judge how reluctant the houſe of AUSTRIA muſt have been to part with it. The ſubſidy which the king receives from FRANCE, is ſaid to be no leſs an object than 300,000 l. value in our money.

The revenues of the houſe of BRANDENBURG, including the king's late conqueſt, are computed at eight millions of dollars [h]; but I think this ſum exceeds the reality. Theſe revenues ariſe from a tax of about half the rent of the lands, and near 40 per cent. on the value of all eatables, ſoap, candles, &c. and yet, what muſt appear moſt ſtrange to us in ENGLAND, the advantages ariſing from the national œconomy, and the regularity which runs through every branch of the government, and particularly in the parcimony of the court, make the people's chains ſit eaſy, and ſecure their property enough to animate their induſtry.

[g] Fourteen pence. [h] 1,400,000 l.

Happy

Happy were it for us did we know but half the miſery which other nations feel. It would induce us chearfully to contribute to the ſupport of that government againſt which we are ſo apt to complain: the integrity of our manners would then render it unneceſſary to good miniſters, and dangerous to bad ones, to dare to corrupt the minds of thoſe on whoſe virtue our liberty muſt ultimately depend.

CHAP. XXXV.

Deſcription of SANS SOUCI. *A ſhort account of the manufactory, academy, and church at* WITTENBURG. *Diſtreſſes in* SAXONY, *occaſioned by the multiplicity of deer. The author arrives at* DRESDEN. *A ſhort account of that city and its trade. Number of inhabitants, ſoldiery, eſtabliſhed religion,* ROMISH *chapel, &c. Some particulars concerning the king of* PRUSSIA *after his victories in* SAXONY.

SANS SOUCI being in the neighbourhood of POTSDAM, I indulged my curioſity in ſeeing it before I took my leave of the electorate of BRANDENBURG; for hardly in any part of GERMANY is there any thing worth ſeeing, but what immediately belongs to the ſovereigns of the country. This building ſeems to have been intended as a ſummer-houſe and library to the palace of POTSDAM, from whence it is about an ENGLISH mile. It ſtands upon an eminence, and commands an agreeable view of the town, and alſo of a ſmall branch of the SPREE, which runs by the ſide of the garden. The apartments are for the moſt part on the ground floor; they are elegantly finiſhed, and as the king ſeems to have a liking for the place, it is probable the building will be enlarged. From the houſe to the lower part of the garden, is a deſcent of about 120 yards, by ſix ſeveral ranges of ſtone ſteps, and as many terraſes, the ſides of which are all planted with vines and covered with glaſs caſements, and ſtanding full to the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt ſun, the fruit is well ripened. The garden below has nothing extraordinary, except ſeveral fine pieces of ſtatuary done by NANCIE of PARIS, particularly a VENUS drawing a net, and a DIANA with game; the pedeſtals of which are

are alſo rich in relievo. There are ſeveral others of leſs note, both in marble and lead, and alſo baſons of the ſame material. For ſome of theſe curioſities the king is obliged to count BRUHL, whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention. As his majeſty profeſſes no love for this miniſter, he the more eaſily reconciled carrying off ſeveral ſtatues and other ſuch valuables from the count's houſe and gardens at DRESDEN. The garden is ſhort of half an ENGLISH meaſured mile, the eaſt end of it is terminated by an EGYPTIAN pyramid, embelliſhed with hieroglyphics. Here is very little turf and no gravel, the ſandy walks robbing the garden of half its beauty. This place is treated with an uncommon reſpect, the gardiner did not permit me to walk with my ſword on, alledging that the king himſelf never wore one in that retreat.

The 23d of Auguſt I left POTSDAM, and travelling through woods and ſandy plains, where I met with only one ſmall village, and hardly a living creature except ſome deer in the foreſt, I arrived at BELITZ, which is two GERMAN miles; from thence to BRITZEN are two very long miles, but the road leſs ſandy: this is the PRUSSIAN frontier. From BRITZEN I entered the electorate of SAXONY. The paſſport which I had received from the governor of BERLIN was no longer of any uſe. Here the pleaſantneſs of the verdure and the richneſs of the ſoil, intermixed with groves and herds of cattle, give one an idea of plenty, ſuperior to what is found in BRANDENBURG; yet the œconomy and elegance of the PRUSSIANS compenſate ſo greatly for this inequality, that many of the SAXONS have taken refuge in BRANDENBURG, and chuſe the ſandy ſoil of that country, with the government of it, preferable to their own. Hence ſeveral little towns which the king of PRUSSIA has built on his own frontiers, are almoſt fully peopled by SAXONS; and ſome of the SAXONS, I was told, tranſplant themſelves to AMERICA, to avoid the inſupportable exactions continually made on them.

Having travelled four GERMAN miles, I arrived at WITTENBURG, famous for the manufactory of coarſe cloths: the wool in this country is remarkably good. There are about 500 private manufacturies, cloths

cloths are alſo ſent hither from all parts to be dyed; the blues and greens, commonly called SAXON, are beſt dyed in this place.

Here is alſo an academy, in which about 700 ſtudents are taught the arts of dancing, fencing, and other polite accompliſhments. They are under the care of twelve profeſſors, who teach LATIN, GREEK and FRENCH. Young perſons are ſent hither from all parts of GERMANY, particularly from HAMBURG and DANTZIG. Here is the SOKOLOFF church, a building of about 300 years ſtanding, where MARTIN LUTHER firſt preached the doctrine which occaſioned the revolt from the ROMISH church. He is alſo interred here, but has no other monument than a ſimple braſs plate with an inſcription, except his original portrait at length painted on wood, and well preſerved ſince 1540. The people here, as in moſt places, where the LUTHERAN religion prevails, have a ſtrong tincture of ROMISH ſuperſtition; among ſeveral inſtances of which the credulous tell you, that in the library now belonging to the academy, the devil viſited MARTIN LUTHER, who received him ſo unpolitely as to throw his ink-ſtand at him.

WITTENBURG is a fortified town, ſituated near the ELBE, and had at this time a garriſon of 500 invalids, commanded by prince EUGENE of DESSAU.

Not far from hence we paſſed over the little river ELSTER, and thro' ſeveral woods of oak, from whence the inhabitants have plenty of acorns for their ſwine, which is their principal food. The peaſants were now mowing a ſecond crop of hay, but the extreme fertility of the ſoil did not ſeem to diminiſh the poverty of the inhabitants.

On the 24th I went from WITTENBURG to ANNABURG, which is four GERMAN miles, and from thence to GOSDORF, three GERMAN miles; the greateſt part of the latter are very tedious, being through a foreſt where the road is very bad.

From thence to GROSSEHAGN is three GERMAN miles, through a delightful road and rich ſoil. This country abounds in large ſtorks, with black

black tails, and wings tipped with the ſame colour. I counted ten towns and villages round me, within the circle of little more than an ENGLISH mile, which rather ſhows what SAXONY has been than what it now is.

On the 25th I paſſed by MOLSBERG, a hunting palace belonging to the king, ſituated on an eminence near the village ISINGBERG, about two GERMAN miles from DRESDEN. The avenue which leads to it is very long, well paved, and planted on each ſide with wild cheſnut-trees: it has a good garden, and is ſurrounded with woods, where the king takes ſuch delight in hunting the wild boar, that he ſometimes remains there for three months at a time. At the bottom of it is a great lake which abounds in fiſh.

Hunting is the ruling paſſion of the SAXON court, and a fatal paſſion it is; for the rational inhabitants are more diſtreſſed by it than the brutes. In the hard winter of 1740, it is computed that above 30,000 head of deer died in the electorate of SAXONY; and yet in the open lands and foreſts were now reckoned to remain above that number, of which nobody dares to kill one under penalty of being condemned as a galley-ſlave: thus the deer become more tame than a ſportſman could wiſh; and theſe with the wild boars are ſo great a nuſance to the country, that the SAXONS would gladly compound to ſupport a body of 8000 ſoldiers extraordinary, on condition that theſe animals ſhould be reduced to half their preſent number. In every town of any note there are fifty of the inhabitants who watch, five every night, by rotation, and uſe bells to frighten the deer, and defend their corn from the incurſions of this formidable enemy. Frequent remonſtrances have been made to the court on this ſubject, but to no other purpoſe than to convince the people of their ſlavery. This little paſſion, joined to a fooliſh reſpect for the cuſtom of their forefathers, thus induces the electors of SAXONY to violate the property of their ſubjects; at the ſame time they depart from the true ends of government, and conſequently from their true happineſs, which they fondly ſeek by ſuch gratifications.

The

The peaſants of this country carry proviſions to market for a great diſtance in wheelbarrows, which are well adapted for the purpoſe both in their height and other dimenſions; the wheel of it is bound with iron, and is lighter, though much larger, than thoſe we uſe in ENGLAND.

DRESDEN, the metropolis of the electorate of SAXONY, ſtands on a plain, ſurrounded about two leagues off by lofty hills; the neareſt of them are very ſandy, and are therefore converted into vineyards, which, receiving all the heat of a full ſouth ſun, ſometimes bring the grapes to maturity; but I never heard any great commendations of their wine. As I entered the city I obſerved a very different conduct in the guard from what is found in BRANDENBURG; for here no queſtions were aſked, whereas the PRUSSIANS are as circumſpect as in time of war. Near the entrance of the part called the NEW CITY, is an equeſtrian ſtatue of the late king AUGUSTUS II. erected on a lofty pedeſtal, ſaid to be made by a common ſmith, and as ſuch may be admired; but it has many capital defects, particularly in the head of the horſe.

This city is well fortified: it ſtands on both ſides of the ELBE, which communicate with each other by a ſtone bridge 540 feet long, and 36 broad, in which ſpace it has 18 arches; the paſſage over it is horizontal, and takes off very much from that grand effect which a curve produces in theſe ſtructures[1]. Great order is obſerved in paſſing this bridge, one ſide being appointed to lead to the NEW CITY, and the other to the OLD; near the latter it is adorned with a crucifix of braſs of curious workmanſhip, about half as big as the life. It is fixed on a ſtone pedeſtal, on which are the emblems of death and the devil, repreſented by a human ſkull and a ſerpent in braſs. Here are ſeveral ſquares and lofty ſtone buildings, in which are ſix or ſeven ſtories. The rooms, though neat, are not large. The buildings make an elegant appearance, but are inferior in beauty to thoſe of BERLIN. DRESDEN being an antient city, many of the ſtreets are narrow.

[1] The bridge at WESTMINSTER is incomparably more grand.

The trade of this place is very inconſiderable. The moſt important commodity here is ſilver, of which the mines near FRIDBURG produce every fifteen days about the value of 20,000 dollars [k], which is brought into the city in ingots in a regular carriage appointed for that purpoſe, and immediately coined and delivered to the proprietors. The mines are under the care of directors, whoſe buſineſs it is to ſupport the value of the ſtock, but they uſually go in a beaten tract, without making any efforts to encreaſe the quantity, on the contrary it often comes ſhort of the ordinary computation. This ſilver is immediately coined into florins of 16 groſch, which with reſpect to the current money of bats, driers, &c. is worth 7 per cent. advance, and is conſequently ſo ſpeedily conveyed into the neighbouring territories to be again melted down, that it is next to impoſſible to obtain in change in this true ſilver, money for one ſingle louis d'or in the ordinary commerce of the people: in which inſtance the SAXONS ſeem very regardleſs of their own intereſt; for though this ſilver may be conſidered as a commodity, the currency of ſuch a coin as their bats and driers, muſt be detrimental in proportion as they are worſe than their genuine coin.

The exchange here is regulated as in LEIPSIG. The par is reckoned 125 SAXON dollars for 100 rix dollars current in AMSTERDAM, but the exchange is generally 135 for their ſmall monies: there is an agio of 3 per cent. when payment is made for bills in louis d'ors, and for ducats 4 per cent. is allowed.

They pretend there are 30,000 towns and villages in SAXONY, of which to the number of 60 are ſeen from ſome eminences near DRESDEN. They alſo reckon that the whole electorate has 4 millions of people, which ſeems to be twice the number one ought to believe, eſpecially as they acknowledge to have only 2600 eccleſiaſtics; nor were there now in DRESDEN above 110,000 ſouls, of which 4000 were ſoldiers.

The king's guard is a regiment conſiſting of 2000 ſoldiers, half of them are POLANDERS and half SAXONS: they are tall well-looking men, their regimentals in good order, and their exerciſe exact; it is modelled after

[k] 3500l.

the

the PRUSSIAN manner, but not carried to that perfection. Their arms are lighter than thoſe of the PRUSSIANS, but their cartouch box heavier: except this regiment, which is cloathed in red, all the infantry wear white with different facings. The king's horſe guards are cloathed in a high taſte, but with a mixture of the grand and ridiculous, their buff coats being richly embroidered in gold, with a ſun on their breaſt and another on their backs. The SAXONS are reckoned very good ſoldiers. Several PRUSSIAN officers have acknowledged to me, that had the AUSTRIANS behaved ſo well as the SAXONS, they ſhould have found a more arduous ſtruggle in the late war. The inhabitants here think the king of PRUSSIA did not play fair upon the occaſion of the battle of DRESDEN; yet they acknowledge the good order preſerved in the PRUSSIAN army by his majeſty's preſence, as it ſaved the citizens from thoſe violences which they feared from the ferocity of the prince of ANHAULT DESSAU. When the king of PRUSSIA came to this city with his army, he would not ſuffer even his brother AUGUSTUS WILLIAM to gratify his curioſity in ſeeing the rarities which were left in the green vault, for fear of any accident to them. One of my acquaintance in DRESDEN told me that the king aſked him what the people thought upon the occaſion of the battle, he replied, "We were all in the higheſt terrors and apprehenſions." "So "was I alſo, ſays the king, and we muſt all thank your ſovereign the e-"lector of SAXONY for it."

Beſides the ſeveral calamities under which this country labours, the jealouſy ariſing from the article of religion is not the leaſt; the eſtabliſhed LUTHERAN clergy are watchful of the reformed church which is much kept under, and obliged to have all their marriages, chriſtenings and burials performed by LUTHERANS; whilſt both think themſelves extremely injured by the great countenance which is given at court to the ROMAN catholics. They eſteem it a groſs abſurdity for a proteſtant people to be governed by a ROMISH prince; for the very principles of that religion, inſtead of promoting the notion of one common intereſt, declare againſt it.

According to the eſtabliſhed conſtitution of SAXONY, the ROMAN catholics can no more have a church in DRESDEN, than their elector, with-

out being of the ROMISH church, can be king of POLAND. A chapel however is connived at, by which is underſtood a private, or at leaſt a modeſt place of worſhip; but the ROMISH chapel, as it is ſo called, is a pompous ſtructure, and ſo richly adorned with ſtatues and architecture, that art and expence ſeem to contend for the ſuperiority, however it was not yet entirely compleated. The furniture of it is intended to be of SAXON porcelain, the altar-piece and organ not excepted. I ſaw ſome of the organ pipes in different pieces, and I make no doubt of the completion of this deſign.

The pleaſure I had in the acquaintance of young count BUENAU, who was with the POLISH embaſſador at St. PETERSBURG, gave me an opportunity of carrying a recommendatory letter, directed to the count his father, at NOETHNIZ, which is not far from DRESDEN. This nobleman, who ſerved the late emperor as miniſter of ſtate, is eſteemed one of the moſt learned men in GERMANY, and has made one of the fineſt collection of books. I was very politely received by Mr. PETRI and Mr. GERVINUS, both merchants, alſo by Mr. PETSHOLD, who had been the SAXON miniſter at the RUSSIAN court, and was now on his departure as miniſter at the court of VIENNA. Mr. FONCK, who was charged with the SAXON affairs in RUSSIA, obliged me with a particular recommendation to Mr. DE VIETH, maſter of the ceremonies to the king of POLAND. This gentleman is remarkable for a fine perſon; he received me very politely, and expreſſed great concern at the abſence of the court, which was at WARSAW, as it deprived him of the means of procuring me many pleaſures.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

A ſuccinct account of the curioſities in DRESDEN *in the eight apartments of the* GRUNE GEWOLBE, *and the twelve chambers of the* KUNTSKAMMAR[l]. SOLOMON'S *temple. King's gallery of pictures. The* CHINESE *palace, and the quantity of porcelain contained in it. Of the* SAXON *porcelain in general.*

MR. DE VEITH was ſo very obliging as to attend me to the GRUNE GEWOLBE [m], which is an apartment of the royal palace, and a repoſitory of great riches as well as curioſities.

I know not whether any traveller has given an account of the profuſion of expenſive trinkets contained in this building; but it is certain there are many of moſt exquiſite art, collected at a prodigious expence. They are too numerous to attempt a particular catalogue; the minutes which I took down on the ſpot are as follows:

The firſt chamber contains 100 ſmall ſtatues curiouſly wrought, the greateſt part in braſs, particularly an equeſtrian ſtatue of AUGUSTUS II. king of POLAND; FREDERICK WILLIAM the GREAT, being a model of the famous ſtatue at BERLIN [n]; LEWIS XIV; centaurs, MERCURY'S, &c.

The ſecond chamber is of ivory, in a great variety of figures; among others there is a fine crucifix; a ſhip completely rigged, with gold wire to repreſent ropes; the ſails are adorned with the arms of the king and the names of the princes of the royal family; a figure of ABRAHAM offering his ſon ISAAC, with the angel deſcending and holding the hand of ABRAHAM as it is raiſed to give the fatal wound. This figure, which is a copy of what was in the academy of St. PETERSBURG, is one ell and a half high, and of exquiſite workmanſhip.

The third is of ſilver, curiouſly wrought in variety of figures, particularly a large fountain and four vaſes of a great ize. The fourth

[l] The chamber of knowledge. [m] Green vault. [n] Of which I have given a plate.

contains

contains veſſels of pure gold, and ſilver gilt; the pannels of the room are of looking-glaſs. There are ſeveral fine enamelled cups, and ſome pieces of plate of which they boaſt the antiquity. The fifth is a ſpacious room with a large quantity of precious ſtones worked with great art; a cup of LAPIS NEPHRITICUS [o]; a ſtatue of CHARLES II. of ENGLAND; a large goblet ſet round with the moſt curious and coſtly antiques; the angel MICHAEL vanquiſhing the devil; this piece is of wood, and of admirable workmanſhip performed in ENGLAND, it coſt 2500 l. and is only two feet high. There are ſeveral fine tables of MOSAIC, particularly one repreſenting flowers, which coſt 70,000 ſcudi of FLORENCE, and was given to the king as a preſent; a ball of criſtal ſix inches diameter, without blemiſh; with a great variety of cups, criſtals, mother of pearls, &c.

The ſixth chamber is of precious ſtones, with ſome falſe ones. There are alſo great variety of pearls ſet in a multiplicity of forms; his preſent majeſty of POLAND curiouſly cut in an onyx; the repreſentation of JONAS thrown into the ſea, made of precious ſtones, which is a very fine piece, and there are ſeveral others of the like nature; a ſword with a ſilver blade, ſo tempered as to bend like ſteel, the hilt is of gold; this curioſity was ſent to the king by his holineſs of ROME; the royal crown, ſceptres, balls, &c. of the king and queen, which are of falſe ſtones, the precious ones are taken out for uſe, and depoſited in the next chambers, viz. the ſeventh and the eighth: theſe being of prodigious value, are ſurrounded with glaſs caſes, and filled with the king's regalia, and a profuſion of rich trinkets, as ſwords, buttons, canes, ſtars of his order, &c. ſet with the fineſt ſtones, and many of them very large; there are five dozen of coat and three of waiſtcoat buttons of brilliants, ſix dozen of buttons and ſix dozen of button-holes of roſe diamonds; a brilliant as big as a moderate ſized wallnut; a green brilliant above an inch long; an onyx of ſeven inches, eſtimated at 70,000 crowns value; a cup repreſenting DIANA in a bath, with combs, bruſhes, &c. all in gold and precious

[o] They ſay this ſtone ſuffers no kind of poiſon without breaking, and is an antidote againſt the ſtone and gravel.

ſtones;

ſtones; a garniture of ſaphirs, as buttons, ſword, ſtar, watch, ſnuff-box, &c.

But to paſs over this profuſion of precious ſtones, the piece of the greateſt curioſity as an exact repreſentation, is the throne of the GREAT MOGHOL, which with extraordinary art and labour is performed in ſilver figures, enamelled in colours, and adorned with precious ſtones. There is a view of potentates bringing preſents, and falling proſtrate at the throne, with elephants, ſoldiers, ſervants, and attendants in their different ſtations. The artificer DINGELENGER is ſaid to have ſpent many years about this work.

Having thus gratified my curioſity in ſeeing this expenſive collection, I went to take a view of others of a different kind in the KUNTSKAMMER. The firſt chamber contains a large collection or library of prints, from the very commencement of the art of engraving to this time; ſo that among many things highly valuable, there muſt needs be alſo a great deal of traſh; but of this I can ſay but little, the abſence of the librarian having prevented my ſeeing it.

The ſecond is the mineral gallery; here are the earth and ſoil of the different countries of the world, and proof has been made of their principles and qualities; alſo oars of every denomination, of every country where mines are found, particularly of the tin, lead, copper, ſilver and gold of the mines of SAXONY: and here I had very ſtriking proofs of the production of ſolid lumps of the fineſt metal in mines, as the common earth produces ſtones. But what ſurprized me more, was the metal vegetables, if ſo I may call that which grows on the ſurface of the earth; here were ſome of gold of above two inches high, and of ſilver about ſix inches. The SAXONS eſteem themſelves ſuperior to any nation in the knowledge of minerals; they have reduced it ſo much to a ſcience, that many of the ſtudents at the univerſity of FRIBURG, apply themſelves more immediately to this ſtudy, the agreeable purſuit of which muſt open a new creation to thoſe who have conſidered only the ſuperficies of the material

rial world. In this chamber were all kinds of ſtones and marbles of different countries, with whatever of this ſort can improve or entertain the curious. Here is alſo the pearl which is found in the river ELSTER; likewiſe the mineral ASBESTOS; it is of a white or ſilver colour, its parts or fibres are diviſible; they feel as ſoft as ſilk, and it has this extraordinary property, that fire cleanſes without conſuming it. The more extraordinary thing is a magnet of two foot and a half, which I compute to be not quite an ounce troy that ſupports near five pounds of iron.

The third chamber conſiſts of things petrified, particularly pieces of wood, ſome animals, and many fiſh. There are alſo birds eggs in their proper neſts. They told me that the waters of KARLSBAD have this effect of petrifying, and that moſt of theſe things are from thence.

The fourth chamber is very large, there are different ſorts of wood and vegetables; of the former is a cabinet with 350 ſquares as big as the palm of a large hand, run in flat as drawers, being all of different ſorts. In this apartment are the pictures of a man and his wife who lived near TAMESWAR; he reached the age of 185, ſhe of 172 years. I have ſeen copies of theſe pictures, which were preſented by general BRETLACH the emperor's embaſſador to the RUSSIAN court, to count BESTUCHEFF the great chancellor. They alſo ſhew here a table of tamarinth, of one piece of 2 ells three quarters, and yet they pretend it is only half the diameter of the tree which produced it.

The fifth chamber is a ſmall cabinet of ſkeletons and other anatomical curioſities. The ſixth conſiſts of many ſorts of animals, the ſkins of which are ſtuffed, particularly crocodiles, leopards, monkeys, ſtags, &c. and ſeveral monſtrous births of beaſts. There is a figure of a ſtag of great ſize made of hartſhorn, which is pretended to be a ſpecific againſt the effects of poiſon: the plate hanging on the breaſt of it has this inſcription, E CORNU CERVI FACTUS, CONTRA VENENA PROSUM. It is poſſible this may allude to the frequent exerciſe of hunting, as a cure of thoſe diſorders incidental to luxury and indolence. The ſeventh chamber

is

is of the ſkins of fiſhes ſtuffed. I obſerved particularly that of the ſea lion, mentioned in lord ANSON's voyages. The eighth has a great quantity of different kinds of ſhells. The ninth is of amber, of which material there is a cabinet of about ſix feet high and four broad; every drawer has ſome natural curioſity in amber. The tenth is a grotto with water ſprings. The eleventh has many curioſities in coral. The twelfth contains the ſkeletons of lions, bears, &c. of a prodigious ſize, and the ſtuffed ſkins of ſome extraordinary beaſts, particularly of a horſe, whoſe mane is three ells and a half long, and his tail twelve ells and a half. I did not meaſure either, but was ſatisfied of the great curioſity, from the apparent length of them, which is indeed prodigious.

From theſe apartments I was conducted to another more remote, to ſee a model cut in cedar, of the temple of SOLOMON, as deſcribed in the old teſtament, and other antient authorities. This piece coſt 12,000 crowns, and much labour has been beſtowed on it; it repreſents the ark, the ſanctum ſanctorum, the ſacrifices, and all other rites and ceremonies of the MOSAIC law.

The next object that engaged my curioſity, was the king's gallery of pictures, which, ſince the purchaſe of the duke of MODENA's collection, is one of the fineſt in the world. The SAXONS ſay the ITALIANS lament the parting with that collection; and that forty young noblemen and gentlemen now take DRESDEN in their travels, to one who formerly viſited that city. Part of the collection conſiſts in one hundred capital pieces, which are ſaid to be all originals, though the connoiſſeurs will not acknowledge it: it is certain however that they coſt half a million of crowns; and the whole collection, which conſiſts of above two thouſand pieces, are valued between two and three millions of crowns[p]. There are many pieces which are ſaid to be inimitable, particularly our Saviour curing the ſick; and the ſhepherds finding him immediately after his birth, by CORREGIO. Theſe pictures not being ranged in proper order, appear to diſadvan-

[p] Near 500,000 l.

tage; but it is certain that the choiceſt works of RAPHAEL, RUBENS, CORREGIO, and all the top maſters, are exhibited in the moſt magnificent profuſion. A young woman twenty one years of age, a daughter of the director RIDEL, paints admirably, and promiſes to be one of the greateſt genius of the age; and TORELLI, a lad of eleven years only, follows her very cloſe. But the greateſt delight which his POLISH majeſty takes, is in a ſmall gallery, all of portraits in crayons; the greateſt part of them are of perſons with whom the king was acquainted in his travels, particularly in ITALY. Moſt of theſe pieces are performed by ſigniora ROSALBA; they are certainly very beautiful. Among theſe pictures they ſhew one of a certain ITALIAN lady, who is reported to have waſted the eſtates of half a dozen ENGLISH lords, and as many ENGLISH gentlemen; but this ſeems to ariſe from accidents which have happened in paſt times.

The next curioſity is the CHINESE palace, ſo called from the taſte of the building, and the intention of furniſhing it with porcelain. The ornaments of the architecture, and the relievo in the frontiſpiece, are after the CHINESE and JAPAN manner. This palace ſtands on the ELBE, and commands a view of the bridge and of the ROMISH chapel, but it is far from being an elegant building, and is ſituated too near the river. The vaults of this palace conſiſt of fourteen apartments, filled with CHINA and DRESDEN porcelain; one would imagine there was ſufficient quantity to ſtock a whole country, and yet they ſay, with an air of importance, that 100,000 pieces more are wanted to compleat the intention of furniſhing this ſingle palace, which is not large.

Perhaps it may be ſome indulgence, to a female curioſity at leaſt, to be informed concerning this brittle commodity, which has been ſo paſſionately ſought for by the fair ſex. But can this paſſion be deemed a folly when we ſee even mighty princes [q] pride themſelves in it? Here are a great number of porcelain figures of dogs, ſquirrels, monkeys, wolves, bears, leopards, &c. ſome of them as big as the life; alſo elephants and

[q] His majeſty of PRUSSIA ſometimes calls his brother of POLAND, the porcelain king.

rhino-

rhinoceros's of the ſize of a large dog; a prodigious variety of birds, as cocks, hens, turkeys, peacocks, pheaſants, hawks, eagles, beſides parrots and other foreign birds, and a curious collection of different flowers. The apoſtles near three feet high, are in white porcelain. There is a repreſentation of the crucifixion four or five feet high, with numerous other curious pieces: theſe laſt are intended for the ROMISH chapel, which I have already obſerved is to be furniſhed with theſe rare materials. A clock is preparing for the gallery in this palace, whoſe bells are to be alſo of porcelain: I heard one of them proved, and they are ſufficient to form any muſic; but the hammers muſt be of wood.

A ſuperſtitious reverence for this extraordinary production has induced his majeſty to preſerve ſome of the firſt efforts of the porcelain fabric, and other performances in their ſeveral gradations, to the perfection the art is now arrived: nor is this pious concern confined to his own manufactures; here is a great number of plates and diſhes of the old porcelain of CHINA, invaluable in the eſteem of thoſe whoſe ideas are refined above common capacities. But what is moſt amazingly wonderful, are the 48 CHINA vaſes, which do not appear to be of any uſe, nor to be any ways extraordinary except their great ſize; and yet his late POLISH majeſty diſcovered ſuch captivating charms in theſe inanimate beauties, that he purchaſed them of the late king of PRUSSIA, at the price of a whole regiment of dragoons. The long gallery in the ſecond ſtory had already two marble chimney-pieces, each adorned with near 40 very large pieces of porcelain, of birds, beaſts, and vaſes, ranged to the height of above 20 feet in a moſt ſuperb taſte, the figures being all made ſo natural, that I could conceive no idea ſuperior in this kind. All ſorts of rich hangings, glaſſes, tables, chairs, &c. are brought into the apartments, but kept packed and covered, the walls remaining bare for four years. The palace in general is unfiniſhed, and it may be preſumed that the KING himſelf is tired of the vanity of an unneceſſary variety, and of ſuch a profuſion of expenſive baubles.

Before I finiſh this chapter, I muſt beg leave to make ſome further remarks with relation to the SAXON porcelain, which has not only infatu-

ated many fair admirers, but extended its reputation to the remoteſt corners of the earth. Baron BOTGAR, a miner about 46 years ſince, firſt began to make this porcelain: his firſt trial was the red, and from thence he proceeded to glazing, and ſince that, gilding and painting have been carried to an amazing perfection. In order to preſerve this art as much as poſſible a ſecret, the fabric at MEISSEN, which is near this city, is rendered impenetrable to any but thoſe who are immediately employed about the work, and the ſecret of mixing and preparing the metal is known to very few of them. They are all confined as priſoners, and ſubject to be arreſted if they go without the walls; and conſequently a chapel and every thing neceſſary is provided within. There are about 700 men employed, moſt of whom have not above ten GERMAN crowns a month, and the higheſt wages are forty, ſo that the annual expence is not eſtimated above 80,000 crowns. This manufacture being entirely for the king's account, he ſells yearly to the value of 150,000 and ſometimes 200,000 crowns[r], beſides the magnificent preſents he occaſionally makes, and the great quantity he preſerves for his own uſe. They pretend they cannot execute faſt enough, the commiſſions which they receive even from ASIA, as well as from all parts of EUROPE, and are conſequently under no neceſſity of lowering the enormous prices; however this muſt be the conſequence e're long, if the ENGLISH and FRENCH continue to make ſuch great improvements in this art. It is with great ſatisfaction that I obſerve the manufactories of BOW, CHELSEA and STEPNEY have made ſuch a conſiderable progreſs. On the other hand it is equally a ſubject of horror to ſee ſo many ſhops in the ſtreets of LONDON ſupplied with the porcelain of DRESDEN, though it is importable only under oath of being for private uſe, and not for ſale.

[r] 35,000 l.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Remarks on the government in SAXONY. *A ſhort account of count* BRUHL's *great wealth, wardrobe, gallery of pictures, &c. Of the king's gardens. Expences of the court. National debt, taxes, and revenues of* SAXONY. *A ſhort account of St.* HUBERTSBURG. *Of the trade, inhabitants, churches, &c. in* LEIPSIG.

THE diſtreſſed condition of this electorate, which the reader muſt have obſerved in the foregoing pages, is occaſioned not more by the unavoidable incidents of war and invaſions, and by the general depravation of the inhabitants, than by the iniquity of a few. The ſubjects of the electors of GERMANY, with one exception, have ever changed their condition for the worſe, when the regal has been joined to the electoral dignity; for the royal authority, as in the caſe of POLAND, has generally been employed to oppreſs inſtead of ſupporting them; and the numerous connections attending kingly government, have involved the ſecurity and independency of the electorate. Thoſe who have any feeling of human miſeries, muſt needs fall into ſerious reflections in viewing the expenſive collections of curioſities mentioned in the laſt chapter. If the virtue of the man abſtractedly conſidered, is preferable to the externals of a king; to ſeek the happineſs of one ſingle family is more glorious in the ſight of GOD, than to poſſeſs all the uſeleſs rarities in the cabinets of this electorate.

In the ordinary computation of greatneſs as derived from wealth and power, count BRUHL is incomparably the greateſt man in SAXONY. The people ſay that he has bought eſtates in POLAND to the amount of 20 millions of florins [f], verifying the ſcriptures, that "the children of this "world are wiſer in their generation than the children of light," for he has wiſely provided a ſtore out of the reach of the SAXONS, whilſt they have no other ſatisfaction than making lampoons on him and his patroneſs the queen. He has alſo ſeveral eſtates in SAXONY, and moveables to-

[f] 833,333 l.

the

the value of ſix millions of dollars: whether theſe accounts are exaggerated, as is probable, from the little love which the people bear him, I know not; but he owes large ſums, as if he meant to make it the intereſt of his creditors to preſerve him during the preſent king's reign. The electoral prince, though unfortunate in his perſon, is a man of ſenſe and virtue, and ſees the conduct of this miniſter in a true light. Count BRUHL, they ſay, is allowed above half a million of dollars annually for the national ſervice and the ſupport of his office.

The world can produce many remarkable inſtances of very good and very evil actions, done for the ſake of a miſtreſs or a friend, for the deſire of gold, or the thirſt of power: but to what idol does that man offer incenſe, whom no leſs than three or four hundred ſuits of rich cloaths will ſatisfy? Count BRUHL has collected all the fineſt colours of all the fineſt cloths, velvets, and ſilks of all the manufactures, not to mention the different kinds of lace and embroideries, of EUROPE. He calls for his book of patterns, which are numbered, and chuſes that ſuit which pleaſes his fancy for the day. They boaſt that he has boots and ſhoes in proportion to his cloaths. The keeper of this notable wardrobe was abſent, ſo that I did not ſee it, but I am perfectly well ſatisfied of its being in nothing inferior to report.

The palace of this lord has been built at ſeveral different times. The apartments are elegant and richly furniſhed, but not many of them magnificent: they have luſtres of porcelain in beautiful figures; the tables are ſet off with variety of tea equipages, and figures of men and women, birds and beaſts of porcelain. The drawing room is pannelled with looking-glaſſes, and adorned with rich paintings, and his cabinet furniſhed with enamels and crayons. This houſe and the gardens belonging to it are ſituated on the ELBE, near the bridge, and command a pleaſant proſpect. His library, which is in the garden, is 220 feet long, and well furniſhed with books; but the moſt ſtriking object is the gallery of pictures, which though it does not contain a fourth part ſo many as the royal gallery, is incomparably more magnificent, being

being 156 ells long, which is 18 longer than that of VERSAILLES. The pictures are ſet off to great advantage, being ranged only on one ſide: the windows fronting them are very lofty, and afford light ſufficient to point out the minuteſt beauties of this excellent collection. The pannels between the caſements are of looking-glaſs, againſt which are placed buſts and ſtatues that have a very grand effect.

The king's gardens are agreeable, though they want thoſe natural beauties which an inequality of ground affords. The palace ſituated in them is ſmall, but the avenue leading to it is grand, and of a conſiderable length. At the front is the field for the turnaments, and behind a fine piece of water: the ſides compoſe the gardens, which are in a natural taſte; here is a profuſion of marble ſtatues, of which many pieces are bigger than the life, and ſeem to be well executed. Moſt of them ſhew the genius of their firſt maſter the late king, who being entirely devoted to amours, was proud of proclaiming it even to after ages, ſo long as theſe ſtatues ſhall remain as monuments of his laſciviouſneſs. Many of them are already injured by time, and neglected.

The ORANGERY, which is in another part of the town, has 400 orange trees of a very large ſize, and remarkably ſtrait. There are many exotics, but nothing ſtruck me ſo much as a ſtrawberry tree cultivated from a plant, and grown three yards high, ſpreading near as much, and yielding fruit [t].

During my ſtay here, I heard much of the ſplendor and great paſſion for amuſement which reigns at this court, even to the giving penſions to ITALIAN ſingers after they leave the country. How different is this court from that of BRANDENBURG? Here 6500 ducats are yearly allowed for comfits and ſuch articles, which is near twice as much as the king of of PRUSSIA allows for his table [u], as I have obſerved already. Yet SAXONY is ſaid to owe forty millions of dollars, the intereſt of which ſince the late king's death, is not regularly paid; ſo that the ſtuere [w], which was at

[t] There are of the ſame kind in ENGLAND. [u] Fifty dollars a day in SAXONY for ſweetmeats and ſpices, and thirty in BRANDENBURG for the whole table, fiſh and wine excepted. [w] Government ſecurity.

2 per.

2 per cent. above par, and gave an intereſt of 5 per cent. is now at a large diſcount.

The king of PRUSSIA bought up ſeveral of the ſtuere bills, at a conſiderable diſcount, no doubt with an intention of being paid; the numbers of his bailiffs might eaſily procure an execution on his debtor. This alarmed the court of SAXONY, and induced it to borrow a large ſum of ſome of the neighbouring ſtates, who very prudently required the ſecurity of land.

The revenues of the elector of SAXONY are ſaid to be near 8 millions[x] of dollars, conſequently ſuperior to thoſe of the houſe of BRANDENBURG; and yet ſince the late reductions, SAXONY ſupports 20,000 men only[y], and groans under a heavy national debt, whilſt PRUSSIA has above 100,000 men, and is free from all incumbrances of this ſort. Theſe revenues ariſe from the taxes on land, and a capitation of about ſix dollars on all males when they are made apprentices, or begin to work. The people of a higher rank are taxed according to their claſs, and ſubject to be called to account if they put themſelves in a lower claſs than is conſiſtent with their eſtates: even foreigners pay capitation after being ſix months in the country; but this method in general of raiſing money is complained of as unequal, and conſequently unjuſt. The people alſo pay a heavy tax, under a notion of quarters for the army. Some houſes of no very great conſequence, are taxed at 120 dollars, others as far as 300.

The JEWS are taxed at 50 dollars, their wives 30, and children 20, with ſome reſpect however to their abilities. There is alſo an exciſe on all eatables and liquors; and beſides this, a gratuity which was given the king, of near 10 per cent. on the incomes of the people, is now reduced to a tax. Thus the value of land eſtates is ſunk extremely low. The king has alſo a tenth of whatever the ſilver mines of particular property produce; and ſome mines belong to the crown.

[x] 1,575,000l. [y] The ſtanding forces of the electorate are generally reckoned between forty and fifty thouſand men.

The

The miſeries of which the SAXONS complain, may be dated ſo early as 1706, at which period CHARLES XII. of SWEDEN glutted his army with the ſpoils of all that country, except DRESDEN: AUGUSTUS having ſhut himſelf up in that city, determined to defend it, though he did not think it proper to detain the perſon of CHARLES, who ventured to make him an inſulting viſit. The war in which SAXONY was involved the beginning of this century, coſt her an immenſe ſum. The laſt war of ſix weeks only, created an expence of ſix millions of dollars, and many thouſands of her beſt troops; yet do not the people ſo much complain of the calamities of war as of the want of œconomy at court, and the exceſſive expence and ambition of a miniſter. Count HENECA, who is the director of the FINANCES, they acknowledge to be a man of abilities, but he cannot anſwer the calls made on him for money.

The king is a man of a mild diſpoſition; he leaves the weight of buſineſs to the queen, and his favourite the count. His majeſty is now [z] about fifty four, and, contrary to the cuſtom of princes, has been conſtant to the queen, who is three years younger than himſelf. The people often complain aloud of their grievances; even the king's confeſſor has in vain attempted to make his majeſty ſenſible of the evils under which this country groans; but his PASSION is for curioſities [a].

Mr. CALKOEN, who had been lately embaſſador to the OTTOMAN PORT, on the part of his maſters the ſtates of the UNITED PROVINCES, was now here as envoy and plenipotentiary to the king of POLAND: I was introduced to him, and very politely received: he is reputed a man of a generous diſpoſition. We diſcourſed concerning NADIR SHAH, on which occaſion he mentioned ſeveral inſtances of the panic which the PERSIAN arms had ſtruck at the OTTOMAN PORT. It was ſaid that this gentleman's chief buſineſs here was to negotiate for the ſecurity of the intereſt which the ſubjects of the STATES have in the ſtuere. He had reſided ſome time in ENGLAND, and profeſſed himſelf an admirer of our nation. I was at his

[z] 1749. [a] I was actually told that half a million of dollars intended for part of a payment due to the king of PRUSSIA, was paid away for the duke of MODENA's pictures.

table in company with POLANDERS, ITALIANS, FRENCH and GERMANS; he aſked me which of the countries I had ſeen was the moſt agreeable, and where a man of ſentiments would chuſe to live. I told him my knowledge of the world was very limited; that I had ſeen a great deal of miſery in one ſhape or other in every country where I had been; but after pauſing I determined in favour of ENGLAND. The company ſeemed ſurprized at my heſitation, and then gave their ſuffrage by a loud, but polite applauſe. Many things were ſaid on this occaſion in favour of this happy iſle. Would to GOD it had fewer blemiſhes! we ought however to be watchful of that reputation for which foreigners of ſentiment ſo univerſally give us a diſtinguiſhed preference.

The ſeaſon being far advanced, I thought it neceſſary to haſten my departure. It was not without reluctancy I left a ſcene which at the ſame time it gives occaſion of compaſſion for the diſtreſſes of the people, affords travellers a great field of amuſement, but moſt of all when the court is in that city. There is hardly any place in EUROPE more devoted to pleaſures and diverſions; but we ſee the conſequence of this exceſſive indulgence, though confined to a court. What has not that nation then to dread, whoſe people in general free themſelves from reſtraints beyond the meaſure which health will bear, and beyond the bounds which prudence or juſtice warrants? The SAXONS amidſt their ſufferings are gentle in their manners. They have the greateſt paſſion for muſic and poetry of any of the GERMANS; even the peaſants have a rural taſte of them: and they have ſome able men in theſe ſciences.

The 30th of Auguſt I left DRESDEN, and travelled towards MEISSEN on the banks of the ELBE. The delightfulneſs of the weather contributed much towards heightening the natural beauties of this country. The corn fields and gardens, meadow lands and paſtures, produced a charming effect. Here the eaſtern banks of the ELBE are adorned with a great number of vineyards, ſome of which are admirably ſituated to receive all the advantages which the ſun can afford in this latitude; but the people fruſtrate their own end, by ſuffering the vines to grow too high, and with

too

too great a luxuriancy, ſo that the grapes do not arrive to that maturity which a more judicious cultivation might afford. The people are extremely induſtrious, and no ground is loſt; ſome of the ſteepeſt hills are ſupported by many terraſſes. As we approach to MEISSEN the valley grows very narrow, and part of the houſes on the banks are built on rocks, which riſe perpendicular from the river, and form a very agreeable and romantic view.

The caſtle at MEISSEN, in which is the porcelain manufactory, ſtands on the weſtern bank of the ELBE, three GERMAN miles from DRESDEN: it is a very large building, and a place of ſome defence. I had an opportunity of being confirmed with what ſecrecy this manufactory is conducted, for there is no admittance into the moſt common part of the work, without an order from the governor of DRESDEN; nor are the workmen ever ſeen without the gates of this ſtrong hold. Here I paſſed the ELBE on a bridge, and after mounting a ſteep aſcent I came into a plain country: the road is good, and the ſoil rich and well cultivated; towns, woods and paſture lands are agreeably intermixed, and combine to give an idea of riches and pleaſure; yet the inhabitants are poor, for the taxes fall heavy on the labourer. I arrived at STAUB two GERMAN miles and a half, and from thence to St. HUBERTSBURG two GERMAN miles and a half; the country every where appearing pleaſant.

This is a palace intended for the pleaſure of hunting, of which I have already obſerved the SAXON court is immoderately fond. The adjacent country is proper for the ſport; and the king's dogs and horſes are kept in order by being exerciſed twice a week. The hunting equipage of the SAXON court is the more gay and brilliant, as an uniform of yellow cloth laced with ſilver is worn on theſe occaſions by every one who appears in the field. The palace is large, but not magnificent, nor was it yet entirely finiſhed. The ſix apartments intended for the queen are lined with green damaſk laced with gold, and thoſe for the king of crimſon, in the ſame taſte. The dining-room, which is round, is an elegant apartment: the gallery is of a good ſize, and

ready to receive the fine pictures which the king had already marked for that purpoſe from amongſt his collection in DRESDEN. There is a handſome luſtre of porcelain, which had been ſent as a preſent from FRANCE as FRENCH manufacture, which appeared to me but little inferior to that of SAXONY. There is a picture of St. FRANCIS XAVIER, ſupported by an angel, done in crayons by the hands of the king's daughter, now the dauphineſs of FRANCE. As this alliance flattered the ambition of the SAXONS, the king had promiſed great amuſements to his people whenever this lady ſhould bring a ſon into the world. The gardens of this palace were ſmall, but the ſituation admirable, and the ground already laid out for the enlargement of them.

The 31ſt I left St. HUBERTSBURG; the roads in this neighbourhood are very good, and where the ſoil is inferior, induſtry ſeems to ſupply the deficiency. Having travelled two GERMAN miles, I arrived at WURTZEN, which is a market town on the river MOLLEN, and has 400 houſes. From hence to LEIPSIG is three GERMAN miles; ſome parts of the road are ſandy and diſagreeable, though the land produces grain; and there are ſeveral towns and villages. From DRESDEN to LEIPSIG is 12 GERMAN miles and a half.

LEIPSIG is one of the greateſt trading towns in GERMANY; its ſituation is advantageous, for a place that has no river of conſequence near it. MAGDEBURG, which is ſituated on the ELBE, is 14 GERMAN miles and a half diſtance, and merchandize is brought from HAMBURG by that channel. What has diſtinguiſhed this city through a long ſeries of years, is the liberty of conſcience which has been indulged to all ſorts of people. As a conſequence of this indulgence, they have been induſtrious in the cultivation of knowledge and moral accompliſhments: the univerſity eſtabliſhed here has notwithſtanding of late years declined very much. The ſeveral princes of GERMANY have the wiſdom to encourage learning within their own dominions; add to this the neighbourhood of HALL, where the ſtudents enjoy advantages in point of cheap living much ſuperior to this place. Notwithſtanding this, the number of thoſe in LEIPSIG is yet very conſiderable.

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The wool which is collected in this city is an important article, and contributes much to the wealth of the citizens. They have ſome rich manufactures, and are much diſtinguiſhed for painted cloths, in imitation of tapeſtry. Wars and invaſions, with the want of œconomy at court, have much humbled the pride of the citizens, and reduced that luxury which the advantages of commerce had introduced amongſt them. The viſit which the king of PRUSSIA made them was yet freſh in their minds; and the heavy contributions impoſed on them, ſet heavy at their hearts. In this place are three fairs kept annually, viz. NEW YEAR'S DAY, EASTER, and MICHAELMAS. Formerly theſe were all very conſiderable, but now that of EASTER only. To theſe reſort POLANDERS, HUNGARIANS, BOHEMIANS, PRUSSIANS, and people from all parts of GERMANY; alſo FRENCH and ITALIANS, and even RUSSIANS come hither, and bring the produce of their reſpective countries. MAGDEBURG ſupplies it with tobacco, which is the growth of that place: the quantity of this article conſumed in GERMANY is prodigious: I have known a common poſtilion fill his pipe thrice in the ſpace of two GERMAN miles.

Accompts are kept here in dollars and goete groſchen, of which 24 make a dollar: a ducat paſſes for two dollars three quarters. Sundry coins are current, but the pure SAXON ſilver money is as hard to be found here as in DRESDEN. The exchange on AMSTERDAM is ordinarily about 130 dollars for 100 rix dollars current of the UNITED PROVINCES. Their centner is 110 lbs. different from the ENGLISH weight about two and a half per cent. Their ell is 22 inches and a half ENGLISH.

Here are about 40,000 inhabitants within the gates, of which 16 families are FRENCH refugees: the ſuburbs alſo are filled with people. They have ſix churches for the LUTHERANS, which is the eſtabliſhed religion, one for the reformed, and a chapel for the ROMAN CATHOLICS in the caſtle; but this laſt is not permitted to uſe bells. They have introduced a new kind of luxury even in their devotion: one of the capital churches has a number of chapels projected about ſix feet from the main wall, through which they communicate with the church, each chapel having its diſtinct door.

door without. Some of the richeſt citizens have beſtowed on theſe auxiliary buildings 1500 or 2000 dollars. The ſober part of the people think the expence had been better beſtowed on the poor, as the affectation of ſo great a diſtinction is by no means conſiſtent with that equality which is ſuppoſed to be among men in their addreſſes to the Almighty. It ſeems to be the remains of that paſſion which the ROMANISTS have for the ſplendid embelliſhments of their temples. The contrary of this may be ſeen in ſome countries, where the houſe of GOD is oftentimes left in a worſe condition than a ſtable: by a pretence of not drawing away the attention by material objects, they make no proviſion for common decency, nor ſometimes for common protection againſt the weather. The people here are religious, and it is a conſtant cuſtom obſerved, to ſhut their ſhops every friday morning; and during their devotions, which laſt till ten o'clock, if any perſon preſume to ſell any thing, they are ſubject to the fine of ten crowns.

The fortifications of LEIPSIG ſeem rather calculated for the uſe of the inhabitants to walk on, than for defence. Theſe have however four ſtone gates, and the citizens ſupport 200 ſoldiers; this exempts them from quarters, though they are otherwiſe ſubject to be taxed as arbitrarily as any other town in SAXONY. This city is of a very ſmall extent, but the houſes are lofty as well as elegant in their fronts. Some of them have three ſtories of cellars, and granaries on the top of the houſes to the number of three or four ſtories, ſo that the whole makes an appearance of ſeven, eight, or nine ſtories. The ſtreets are clean, commodious, and agreeable, and there are two large ſquares which are uſed as market-places. But what adds much to the agreeableneſs of this city, are the gardens which ſurround it, particularly the APEL [b] garden, which is in an excellent taſte, conſidering that it is almoſt upon a flat. The ſtatues are very indifferent, yet ſo ranged as to produce a pleaſing effect. This garden was much in eſteem with the late king AUGUSTUS, but at preſent it is ſupported by the contributions of the citizens.

[b] A man's name.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A ſhort account of the inhabitants and revenues of ANHALT KÆTHEN, ANHALT DESSAU, BINBURG *and* ZERBST. *A ſuccinct view of* MAGDEBURG *and* WOLFENBUTTEL. *Of the revenues and forces of the court of* BRUNSWIC, *with a view of the ducal palace and gallery of pictures at* SALTZDALEN.

SEPTEMBER the ſecond I took leave of my friends in LEIPSIG, and departed for LANDSPERG; the road near LEIPSIG was full of waggons loaded with merchandize. The land is every where well cultivated, but not incloſed. HALL, which is ſubject to PRUSSIA, appeared at a ſmall diſtance: it is famous for its ſchools and univerſity, particularly for ſtudents in phyſic. At LANDSPERG, which is three GERMAN miles and a half, we entered the PRUSSIAN dominions; the paſſage from one ſovereignty to another in theſe parts, is very frequent: from thence, paſſing through ROTHENBURG, which is the frontier of SAXONY, bordering on the petty ſovereignty of the prince of ANHALT KOETHEN, I arrived at the city KOETHEN, diſtant four GERMAN miles.

This is a conſiderable place, the inhabitants being computed near 15,000. They have three churches, and the principal manufacture of gold and ſilver lace in GERMANY. It employs near a thouſand perſons: the uſual expence of their wages is 1500 dollars a week. They manufacture here yearly to the value of near a million of dollars, for which there is a demand all over GERMANY as well as abroad. The SAXONS acknowledge that the inhabitants of theſe little independent ſovereignties of KOETHEN, DESSAU, BINBURG, and ZERBST, live in the land of milk and honey; whilſt the knowledge which theſe people have of what the SAXONS and BRANDENBURGERS ſuffer, convinces them that they are really happy. Indeed theſe were the only people, conſidered as a ſtate, which before or ſince that time I ever heard talk without complaining.

Theſe petty princes poſſeſs lands ſufficient for their expences, their revenues being reckoned about half a million of dollars. The tax on lands

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is 4 per cent. which rating them at 20 years purchaſe, is not quite one ſhilling in the pound. Upon an emergency the ſubjects are capable of raiſing half a million extraordinary. According to the conſtitution of the empire, each of theſe princes is obliged to cloath, arm, and ſupport 100 men in time of war, for the emperor's ſervice. The towns in theſe little ſtates are not ſo numerous in proportion to the extent of country as in SAXONY, but better peopled. The young prince of ANHALT KOETHEN has a palace in this town, but it is in a ruinous condition. He ſupports a body of 250 men, who are well cloathed; his revenues are computed at 160,000 dollars. He was now about 19 years of age, of a very remarkable comelineſs, and engaged in the ſervice of the king of DENMARK.

The third, I travelled through a country well cultivated, but not of ſo rich a ſoil as moſt parts of SAXONY. SALTZA, which lies in the road, is famous for refining ſalt made from an adjacent ſpring of ſalt water. The river SAAL divides the dominions of ANHALT KOETHEN, and BRANDENBURG: paſſing over it in a ferry I entered KALBE, where I found near a regiment of PRUSSIAN ſoldiers, and was interrogated as uſual under PRUSSIAN diſcipline. This was the firſt and laſt place in which I was pilfered; I diſcovered the thief and obtained reſtitution, and was inclined to have him chaſtiſed, till I learnt that the puniſhment would be more ſevere than the nature of the crime ſeemed to require.

The ſecurity with which one travels in this part of the world, is a circumſtance much to be commended. Here the people are ſober and ſerious; the duties of morality are taught and inculcated, not by prieſts only, but by parents: and as a natural conſequence of a religious ſenſe of things; thefts and robberies in time of peace [c] are hardly known amongſt the GERMANS. This is imputable to a ſtrict diſcipline, but it alſo ariſes from the early impreſſions of religion, which ſo apparently prevail in this country.

From KALBE to MAGDEBURG is four GERMAN miles; the road is extremely good. If it is warrantable to travel on the ſabbath-day without

[c] In time of war travelling is ſaid to be dangerous.

neceſſity,

neceſſity, we ought at leaſt to perform the duty of public worſhip: I heard a good diſcourſe in one of the FRENCH reformed churches. I have already taken notice of the piety of the LUTHERANS, particularly as expreſſed in ſinging. On my entrance into MAGDEBURG, a band of vocal muſicians, compoſed of twelve ſtudents, after morning ſervice, were ſinging at the doors of the citizens: this is but a genteeler way of begging; however it cannot be ſaid to encourage idleneſs. The performance pleaſed me ſo well that I engaged them for a ſhort time, and they received a ſmall gratuity [d] with great thankfulneſs. Here are two reformed, one FRENCH LUTHERAN, and eight GERMAN LUTHERAN churches, all which have been rebuilt ſince 1631.

This town was then ſacked and burnt, and the inhabitants put to the ſword by the emperor's general, count TILLY. The king of PRUSSIA, in his memoirs of the houſe of BRANDENBURG, mentions a very remarkable inſtance of heroic virtue, viz. "That twelve hundred virgins drowned themſelves in the ELBE, as the only means of preſerving their chaſtity from the violation to which it was expoſed. Theſe examples, adds this author, are admirable, but they are rare. If the ſtory appears fabulous, it ought to be imputed to the corruption of our manners, or that the fact is not properly atteſted." It is poſſible that a ſenſe of honour, joined to the terrors of a cruel enemy, might drive numbers to this extremity, eſpecially as very few of the inhabitants were ſaved from the ſword, except fourteen hundred who ſhut themſelves up in the cathedral. I had the pleaſure to find here ſeveral agreeable perſons of both ſexes, to whom the letters I carried procured me an introduction. Indeed I every where experienced advantages of this kind, which, though I travelled alone, rendered my journey improving and delightful.

This place is remarkable for its great magazines, for the reception of merchandize brought from HAMBURG on the ELBE, and from hence ſent by land to LEIPSIG and other parts. Some of the veſſels employed

[d] Twelve groſch, or twenty one pence.

for this purpoſe are of 70 laſts, and though their ſides are very thin, are generally deeply loaded; they are flat bottomed, and draw at moſt three feet water. The current near the town is very ſtrong. There are fourteen floating mills for grinding corn; and to prevent the ill conſequences of a rapid ſtream, a ſluice is prepared for the ſafer paſſage of veſſels with merchandize. Here are ſome manufactories and remarkable buildings: in the great ſquare at the main guard, is an antient ſtatue of the emperor OTHO, who in the year 930 is ſaid to have founded this city.

The fortifications of this place are very remarkable, and diſtinguiſhed through all EUROPE. There are ſix deep foſſes: this, together with the lowneſs of their works, renders the place very ſtrong. Here were three regiments, amounting to 4000 men; but to defend ſo large a town, a much greater number is neceſſary.

The fourth, I travelled on to AKERRESLABEN, two GERMAN miles from MAGDEBURG, which is therefore ſometimes preferred as the moſt convenient ſtage, though it is more than half a GERMAN mile out of the way. The GERMAN poſtilions wear the liveries of the country they belong to; in BRANDENBURG it is blue, in SAXONY yellow; they bear the king's arms, and pay a tax of one third of the hire of horſes to the crown. They are frequently inſolent, or ſtupidly regardleſs of their duty to ſtrangers. They uſe ſmall FRENCH horns, the ſound of which is ſhrill; ſome of them play tunes in no diſagreeable manner, but the majority make a ſhocking noiſe. Brandy, or uncommon fees of drink-money will induce them to travel faſt, otherwiſe they are inſupportably dilatory.

I was yet in the PRUSSIAN dominions, when my poſtilion attempted to paſs by a particular way, and avoid the payment of a ſmall road duty; upon this an officer, who was poſted at an avenue to prevent this practice, rode up, ſtopped my chariot, and ſeized one of the horſes as a treſpaſs. He would not deſiſt till I alighted with my piſtol, and let him know, that whatever fault the poſtilion had committed, it could by no means reach me, who had paid for the horſes according to the laws, and was travelling under the protection of thoſe laws; therefore if he pre-

preſumed to detain me, I would reſiſt him as a robber, upon which he thought proper to let me paſs.

The next place we came to, was the city of HELMSTET, belonging to the duke of BRUNSWIC; it is ſurrounded with an old fortification, and had a garriſon of 200 of the duke's troops. Here are 200 ſtudents, who are chiefly ſupported by the bounty of their ſovereign. From thence I departed for WOLFENBUTTEL, being four very long GERMAN miles; the road is good but the country hilly, and the vallies abound in cattle. There are ſeveral groves of oaks, which being kept perfectly clean, have a charming effect. The inhabitants of the towns and villages have the appearance of great health and eaſy circumſtances. A few miles to the eaſtward of this road are ſeveral mines of iron, copper, ſilver, and, they ſay, ſome gold alſo. In the dominions of the duke of BRUNSWIC, as well as in thoſe of the elector of SAXONY, there is a great variety of oar, which conſtitutes a conſiderable part of their revenues. Among ſuch as are remarkable, they reckon that which is of a deep emerald with ſilver coloured points, like thorns; this oar is ſaid to contain a proportion of gold alſo.

I arrived at WOLFENBUTTEL after the gates were ſhut, but I procured admiſſion[e]. The houſes here are low, but the ſtreets clean. The fortification is very neat and regular, but not calculated for any great defence. The ſmall river OKAR fills a mote round it, and affords water to the inhabitants in a very convenient manner. Without the walls is an antient palace belonging to the duke, which is rather convenient than grand: here are ſeveral apartments well furniſhed, and two ſmall galleries of pictures. In this city there is a good arſenal and library: I declined ſeeing it from an opinion that the ſimple view of libraries, without examining their contents, is a more barren entertainment than ſurveying the ſky, without thinking of him who made it.

[e] There is a rate fixed, three groſch for a vehicle, and one for a horſe, for opening the gates after a certain hour.

The next day I went on to BRUNSWIC. About an ENGLISH mile from WOLFENBUTTEL is the palace of ANTOINENBURG, belonging to the duke's mother. For near two ENGLISH miles the road is bordered by trees and groves of wood: the whole way, which is ſhort of two GERMAN miles, is agreeable. The walls of BRUNSWIC are lofty, and the fortifications of no mean note. This is the reſidence of the prince, whom we ſtile duke of WOLFENBUTTEL; his majeſty the king of GREAT BRITAIN, is a branch of that family, and takes the title of duke of BRUNSWIC. The garriſon conſiſted of five regiments. The duke's forces are eſtimated 13,000, but I have reaſon to believe the real number was then only 9000, of which 2000 are invalids. This is a great number for ſo ſmall a ſtate to ſupport: why ſo many are kept in pay in time of profound peace, is owing to the pride of theſe GERMAN princes, and the cuſtom of their forefathers. Add to this, that they ſometimes receive ſubſidies from great princes, in conſequence of which they are obliged to keep up a number of forces. The BRUNSWIC troops are very clean, and cloathed much after the PRUSSIAN manner; but the men are ſmaller, their arms lighter, and their exerciſe not ſo exact.

The arſenal of this city contains nothing very extraordinary: in the ROMISH times they ſay it was a church in the gothic taſte, but now very much changed, as well in the exterior part as the inſide, which contains three ſtories. There are about ſixty pieces of braſs cannon, ſeveral cohorns and mortars, and ten pieces of large braſs battering cannon of an enormous ſize, with a great quantity of ſmall arms, but not all in the beſt order. It ſeems to be the folly of moſt princes to preſerve many uſeleſs arms, merely for ſhew, or for the ſake of their antiquity.

On the ramparts is a curioſity of a mortar-piece of braſs, made in 1411. It is ten feet ſix inches long, and nine feet two inches diameter, weighing 1800 quintals: it has 93 quintals of iron in the carriage. It will carry a ball of 730 pounds weight to the diſtance of 3300 paces, and throw a bomb of 1000 weight, but it requires 52 pounds of powder.

– Here

Here are ſeveral churches, one in particular, which is a very antient gothic building, but the appearance of its antiquity ſeems to be abſorbed in the frequent repairs it has undergone. The top of it is ornamented with twenty large paintings, repreſenting the prophets of the old teſtament in the clouds of heaven, which gives the building a very ſolemn air. The high altar is of marble adorned with the ſtatues of the four evangeliſts, and ſupported below by MOSES and AARON.

This branch of the houſe of BRUNSWIC is very numerous, conſiſting of near thirty perſons, who live in great harmony. But this family is unhappy in having one conſiderable branch in baniſhment in RUSSIA, and another living in a ſtate of widowhood, the king [f] her huſband being alive, and, to appearance, in good health.

The revenues of this country are ſaid not to exceed a million and a half of dollars [e], and though the court is ſo numerous, the œconomy of it is ſuch, that the duke has his theatrical and muſical entertainments, and foreigners are received with great civility. Perſons of great diſtinction being conſidered in ſome meaſure upon an equality, ſeldom leave this court without being extremely well ſatisfied with the reception they meet with. ENGLISH noblemen in particular are well received when they occaſionally paſs that way. The duke ſeems to conſult his eaſe and happineſs rather than the parade of life. He generally appears in his coach with three other perſons of his family. His livery is yellow, laced with a galloon of blue ſilk and ſilver, and has uſually four footmen behind his coach; two pages in blue cloth laced with ſilver, on each ſide of it; and a ſervant in livery riding before him to prepare the way.

The duke's palace of SALTZDAHLEN is worthy the curioſity of a traveller: it is ſituated at the diſtance of a long GERMAN mile from BRUNSWIC, in a very mean village, and the road to it is but indifferent. The greateſt part of this palace is of timber; the rooms are moſtly lined with painted cloths, which have a taſte of grandeur at a ſmall expence. Here I obſerved the magnificence of a ſovereign prince reſtrained by a parſimonious

[e] 262,000 l. [f] The king of PRUSSIA.

regard.

regard to ſmall revenues, and to the neceſſary ſupport of a family and an army. The garden is in no bad taſte, but the ſtatues are very mean. The gallery of pictures is a noble apartment, and its contents not leſs worthy of attention; the end of it divides into ſeveral apartments. The left wing is furniſhed in a groteſque taſte with CHINA porcelain, ranged in an agreeable manner: another is full of painted enamelled ware, great part of which is ſaid to be done by RAPHAEL of URBINO, when he was enamoured with the potter's daughter: but I fancy RAPHAEL never made a tenth part of the quantity which is aſcribed to him. This collection is ſaid to be above 200 years ſtanding. Of pictures there are many curious originals, ſome remarkable for the ſubject, and others for the execution.

Some of the pictures which ſtruck my fancy, were ADAM and EVE viewing ABEL after his death, and pulling open his eyes; they are ſuppoſed to be ignorant in what circumſtances he was; ABEL's body appears as turned towards one in three different views; this piece is by STRUDEL: our Saviour on the croſs: prince EUGENE the imperial general: LEWIS XIV. and his two miſtreſſes; appear to be fine pieces: the aſcenſion, by VOUGERMAN, is much eſteemed; the king of POLAND, they ſay, would gladly purchaſe it at any rate: the marriage of two HOLLANDERS, the young man and woman looking tenderly at each other, while the parents are equally attentive to the notary who draws up the articles: the woman of SAMARIA ſolliciting our Saviour's mercy, pleading the argument of dogs eating crumbs from their maſter's table: the famous REMBRANDT, his wife and three children in one piece, done by himſelf: JUDITH and her attendant, an old woman, holding HOLLIFERNES's head juſt cut off, the face yet appearing with ſome marks of life: SPINOLA a famous SPANIARD, by RUBENS: a FLEMING, by VAN DYKE: TIME plunged into an abyſs by ETERNITY: an angel is repreſented with a ring, whilſt old TIME is tumbled headlong, the execution of this piece ſeems to be much inferior to many others: PETER delivered from priſon by the angel, by STEINBECK: a repreſentation of the doctrine of the croſs and ſacred hiſtory, oppoſing the vain imaginations of prophane hiſtory,

tory, and driving away the vicious beings which the heathen gods are repreſented, by JORDAN: CEPHALUS and PROCRIS, an exceeding fine piece: the repreſentation of ABRAHAM embracing his ſon after the trial which God made of his faith; piety and joy, here ſeem to contend with each other, whilſt his looks expreſs a ſeraphic adoration; this piece is done by LIEBENS.

The dutchy of BRUNSWIC carries on a trade of ſome conſequence with BOHEMIA. The country abounds in hops, which are eſteemed the beſt in all GERMANY: they have likewiſe great plenty of turnips, of the ſeeds of which they make good oil.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The author purſues his journey to the electorate of HANOVER. *A brief account of the city of* HANOVER, *its palace, ſtables, inhabitants. Of the revenues, ſoldiery, &c. Reflections on court language. A ſhort account of the palace and garden of* HERENHAUSEN.

THE ſeventh of September I travelled on to PAINE, three GERMAN miles; this place is in the biſhoprick of HILDESHEIM, and now ſubject to the elector of COLOGNE, whoſe troops were quartered here. From hence to ZÆHN, a ſmall place in the electorate of HANOVER, is two GERMAN miles; the road is good, but moſtly on a heath and barren land.

Here I had an opportunity of diſcovering a new ſpecies of corruption, or rather an inſolent abuſe of authority. The electorate of HANOVER is diſtinguiſhed from moſt others in GERMANY in this inſtance, that it does not draw any part of the revenues from poſt horſes. They pay here only ſix groſch a GERMAN mile for each horſe, whereas in POMERANIA, BRANDENBURG, and SAXONY, they pay eight. But as in thoſe countries they uſually put in four horſes to a common chariot, and demand payment only for three, that number being ſuppoſed ſufficient; in HANOVER they inſiſt on being paid for the four, defeating the intention of the legiſlature by this act of inhoſpitable extortion.

From

From ZÆHN to the city of HANOVER is two GERMAN miles; the greateſt part of the road is very ſandy, and diſagreeable; but the ſoil produces corn, and there are ſome pleaſant groves near the road. The city of HANOVER on this ſide appears at the diſtance of a long GERMAN mile, as if it ſtood in the midſt of a wood. Upon entering the HANOVERIAN dominions, I could not help obſerving a particular difference in the countenances of the inhabitants from thoſe of the BRANDENBURGERS; for though the latter are polite, their perſons cleanly, and their houſes elegant; yet is there not the ſame appearance of a comfortable life as in HANOVER. The reaſon of this will ſoon appear, from the compariſon of the different governments, and different views of their reſpective ſovereigns. The king was now at GHOERD, a hunting-palace 28 GERMAN miles from the city. It is ſaid that twelve hundred perſons can be accommodated at this place, where his majeſty makes greater expence than at any other diverſion. The woods are cut into viſtas, and the tract of country ſo large, that the trees which were blown down in a late ſtorm, though computed at 80,000, are notwithſtanding hardly miſſed.

The connexion which ENGLISH ſubjects are ſuppoſed to have with HANOVER, had almoſt betrayed me into a perſuaſion that I ſhould find myſelf at home there. It is a vulgar notion, that ENGLAND is the chief ſupport of that electorate; how ill founded it may be, I ſhall not take the pains to enquire; but I could not avoid obſerving a certain coldneſs and indifference in ENGLISH travellers in regard to HANOVER, who, though anxious in the dominions of foreign princes, to ſee things leſs worthy of note, are apt to paſs over this city without any attention.

Count WILLIAM BENTINK being in the ſame inn, did me the honour of a tranſient viſit: this nobleman is particularly polite in his manners, and has a great love for the ENGLISH. The count, who is ſeigneur of ROON, and of the ſame family as the duke of PORTLAND, is greatly beloved by all the well-wiſhers of the houſe of ORANGE, which, it is ſaid, he had a great ſhare in reſtoring to the ſtadt-holderſhip. I had alſo an oppor-

opportunity of paying my reſpects to a certain noble peer, poſſeſſed of many amiable qualities. He gave me as gracious and polite a reception as I had any title to expect, who hardly ever ſaw him before. As I had no court-dependences, nor were here any temptations to other amuſements; I was at liberty to indulge my thoughts in moralizing on this occaſion.

A certain emiſſary from HAMBURG ſent, about this time, to the court of HANOVER, returned home in high joy, from the great honour which had been paid him; though not a jot of his buſineſs was done. Men unuſed to the language of courts, may, like Sir FRANCIS WRONGHEAD in the play, be eaſily deceived into the imaginary poſſeſſion of riches and honours, when theſe ſoft words are ſpoken by men in the higheſt ranks of life: but when courtiers are conſtrained to diſguiſe their ſentiments, can we, with any propriety, ſay, they are ſo high in dignity, as the private gentleman, who dares to ſpeak the language of his heart, and is under no kind of neceſſity of ſpeaking any other language?

One of the apartments in the king's palace being appointed as a chappel for the ſubjects of the church of ENGLAND, I had the pleaſure of hearing doctor YOUNG, one of his majeſty's chaplains[a], preach. Whilſt we are travelling through countries where we have no particular intereſt, where we are ſojourners only for a few days, in a literal ſenſe; ſhall we neglect to call to mind that country, where we ſhall live for ever; or think it an impropriety to blend the conſideration of both worlds, whilſt they are in their nature ſo inſeparably connected? Whether it was from the great diſtance of time in which I had not heard any preacher of note, or the excellency of the diſcourſe, ſet off with the advantages of the doctor's geſture, voice, and propriety of expreſſion; his words ſeemed to have at leaſt as much force as the ſweeteſt eloquence of the moſt accompliſhed courtier. To lend an ear to the courtier, and take his word for ſome uncertain ſhort-lived good, whilſt we

[a] Now maſter of JESUS college in CAMBRIDGE.

are totally deaf, or careleſsly inattentive to that of the prieſt, who promiſes certain and eternal felicity, is as common, as for men to think more of this world than of the next.

But, unhappily for mankind, theſe emiſſaries from heaven too often utter their important truths with leſs emotion, and, to APPEARANCE, with leſs attention to the purport of the words, than the COURTIER can have to his complimental declarations. It was perhaps on this principle the celebrated Mr. BOOTH juſtly remarked, that the fictions of the ſtage have uſually penetrated men's hearts, at leaſt for the time, much deeper than the realities which are uttered from the pulpit. To ſoften this matter, it ought to be remembered, that a ſtrong and harmonious voice, a muſical ear, and a devout heart, are things which rarely meet in one and the ſame man. The great objection ſeems to conſiſt in this, that the ſpiritual part of the legiſlature have declined into an inattention to this article; and cuſtom, joined to the freedom of GREAT BRITAIN, in ſome meaſure makes it neceſſary for them to appoint all perſons, who preſent themſelves, if their lives and their learning are unexceptionable, whatever their defects may be in regard to voice, ear, and expreſſion.

There are however many preachers in ENGLAND of admirable ſkill in oratory: many whoſe manners, language, and doctrine afford the higheſt delight to a moral mind; and give occaſion to their auditors to ſhow as great marks of their taſte, as of their virtue. Unhappy thoſe whoſe poverty in both, contracts their joys to pleaſures of a different nature; pleaſures which are rendered valuable only from the expence they create; or ſuch as ought to be ſhunned, becauſe they are dangerous. The cauſe of religion ſeems to ſuffer with the decline of that reſpect which is due to a profeſſion, the moſt dignified in the world. A reverence for prieſt and for religion, will, in the minds, at leaſt of the common people, ever accompany each other; and, in one ſenſe, there are more common people than is generally imagined. In ENGLAND there ſeems to be much greater danger from the immorality ariſing from this cauſe, than from eccleſiaſtical power or pride.

HANOVER is, in many reſpects, pleaſant; and, though ſhort of BERLIN, or DRESDEN, it may be deemed elegant: it is every day improving, and the part which is called the new city has ſeveral agreeable houſes. It is watered by the LEINA, which is a branch of the ALLER, that runs into the WESER, and conſequently communicates with BREMEN; but it carries on no trade worth mentioning. The fortifications are not formidable, but the walk round them is very agreeable.

The king's ſtables are magnificent; beſides his riding horſes, which were then abſent, they contained thirteen complete ſetts of coach-horſes, the moſt beautiful of their kind.

The palace is ſituated upon the banks of the LEINA: it has ſeveral courts within it. In conſequence of a fire, which happened not many years ſince, great part of it has been rebuilt. The rooms are commodious, as well as grand, and many of them are hung with very rich tapeſtry, for which this palace is moſt diſtinguiſhed. The opera-houſe, as well as the theatre for the FRENCH comedians, which are both within the palace, are antient, but commodious. The whole is rather rich, decent, and elegant, than ſplendid; but it has ſomething more ſolid than any I ſaw in GERMANY.

The guard is always mounted, and open table is kept even when the king is not in his electoral dominions; at which time the adminiſtration, compoſed of a council of ſtate, is conducted with the utmoſt dignity. During the whole winter there is a play twice a week, and a concert as often. The courtiers, without exception, take place according to the military rank that is aſſigned them; at the ſame time that this feeds their hearts with that pride and emulation, which is one of the great properties of courts in general, it ſupports that good order and diſcipline which is eſſential to a military government.

The king's forces in the electorate are ſaid to be 24,000. They are deſervedly diſtinguiſhed for their valour, of which they gave ſuch ſignal proof in the late war, that even thoſe politicians, who make it a point to oppoſe the meaſures of the government, muſt confeſs, that our confidence

in them was more judiciouſly repoſed, than in any other of our good friends and allies. Theſe men do not appear ſo tall as the ENGLISH ſoldiers; but, in other reſpects, bear a great affinity to them. The revenues of the electorate are about four millions of dollars[b]. The finances are ſaid to be in good order, which is not improbable; for although this electorate has been ſo frequently threatened with invaſions, war has not reached its bowels now for a long ſeries of years. A conſiderable part of the revenue ariſes from the ſilver mines. The number of inhabitants in the city of HANOVER hardly exceed fifty thouſand.

I was told in BRANDENBURG, that the HANOVERIAN women were remarkable for their beauty; but I confeſs, that I could not diſcover any ſuch women; it is true, my eyes were then extremely weak.

But nothing here is ſo much recommended to the attention of travellers as the king's palace at HEREN-HAUSEN, which lies about two ENGLISH miles to the northward of the city. The way to it is through an agreeable avenue of trees, but the road is ſandy. I know not if I was moſt mortified or ſurprized, to find a building incomparably ſhort of my expectations; for though in ENGLAND it is ſaid our hoſpitals are palaces, and our palaces are more proper for hoſpitals[c]; yet I had fallen into an opinion, that this palace, ſo much talked of, was indeed grand, and worthy of his majeſty. Princes, like other men, have oftentimes prejudices in favour of a paternal inheritance, and the reſidence of their forefathers. ERNEST AUGUSTUS, the king's grandfather, built this palace about eighty years ſince[d]: the greateſt part of it is of wood, and the apartments in general rather give an idea of a large antient manſion-houſe of a private gentleman in ENGLAND, than the palace of a great monarch. It has ſome rich and decent furniture, and good pictures. Charles the firſt, and prince RUPERT in particular, are ſaid to be originals, and diſtinguiſhed for their likeneſs.

The garden however may juſtly be admired. I ſaw none in GERMANY comparable to it, though it wants thoſe exquiſite charms and inchanting

[b] 700,000 l. [c] HAMPTON-court, &c. excepted. [d] In 1670.

variety

Vol. II p. 255.

F. Hayman inv. et del.

C. Grignion sculp.

variety that an inequality of ground produces, of which we have numerous proofs in GREAT BRITAIN. One ſide of the garden is covered by a narrow piece of water above a quarter of a mile in length. The walks are moſtly of gravel made wide and ſpacious, large ſquares and baſons dividing the ſeveral parts of the garden. The intermediate ſpaces are formed by lofty groves and orchards: the whole produces a grand effect; but in my judgment not very rural. The ſtatues are moſtly of ſtones, and do not appear to me of the firſt rank. The jet d'eau, erected by Mr. BENSON in 1716, perhaps exceeds any thing of the ſort in the world; it throws the water 70 feet high. Here is alſo a ſylvan theatre according to the GERMAN taſte, on which plays and maſquerades are ſometimes exhibited: it is adorned with ſtatues, and occaſionally illuminated in a grand taſte. In this palace, it is ſaid, the king moſt unbends his mind; and whilſt he enjoys an uncontrouled authority, has the entire poſſeſſion of the hearts of his ſubjects. Such cannot be the limited power of a BRITISH monarch; but he certainly has the ſincere love of MUCH the greateſt part of his people in GREAT BRITAIN; the real friendſhip of many near his perſon, and the veneration, even of thoſe few, who are too much their own enemies to be entirely his friends; and to theſe we may add a country poſſeſſed of all the advantages of nature and art, incomparably ſuperior to the electorate: yet the native born ſubjects, who judge diſpaſſionately, and enter a little into the human heart, will ſoon find reaſons to conſider a king as man like themſelves, and reconcile the conſtancy of his majeſty's affections for his HANOVERIAN dominions. Whether ſuch an affection will exiſt in the minds of this illuſtrious family in FUTURE ages, FUTURITY only can diſcover. That the HANOVERIANS are as impatient for the abſence of their ELECTOR, as any BRITISH ſubjects can be of their KING, is obvious; ſo natural is it to mankind to covet the ſight and preſence of their ſovereign when he is a good prince.

One great topic during my ſtay at HANOVER, was the treaty juſt then concluded between the BRITISH crown and the UNITED PROVINCES on the one part, and the elector of BAVARIA on the other, with regard to a ſupply of forces in caſe of need; for which BAVARIA

is

is to receive an annual ſubſidy of near 40,000 l. The ſufferings of BAVARIA in the late war, one would imagine, were ſufficient to detach her elector from FRANCE, though ſuch an emolument had not been given. The generality of people in ENGLAND are apt to complain, that theſe ſubſidies are injurious to the honour and welfare of their country; but if it is neceſſary to ſupport an intereſt upon the continent, as in ſome lights it muſt be granted; theſe GERMAN princes, whoſe intereſt or inclination may induce them to enter into an alliance with us, will as naturally demand of us ſome kind of reward for their friendſhip, as the poor expect to be relieved by the bounty of the rich: and although more may be paid for a thing than it is worth; yet, in ſome caſes, is it not as much our intereſt to give moderate ſubſidies, as it is for other princes to take them? We ſee that the FRENCH, who are very acute in their politics, are as little diſpoſed to give ſomething for nothing, as we poſſibly can be; and yet they pay to PRUSSIA, COLOGN, DENMARK, SWEDEN, POLAND, and the republic of GENOA near 600,000 l. which I apprehend is near twelve times as much as we pay in ſubſidies*. As cuſtom is the law of mankind, whilſt the ſyſtem of political intereſt remains on its preſent footing, thoſe nations who, by commerce, are in the way of accumulating riches, will have demands on them for part of thoſe riches, whenever the aſſiſtance of other princes is, in a certain degree, neceſſary to preſerve that power by which thoſe riches are acquired: and whilſt we commit depredations on one another by arts of corruption, even ſuppoſing the giving of moderate ſubſidies to be an evil, if it is ſuch as the conduct of other powers renders neceſſary, we have the leſs reaſon to complain.

* The laſt ſubſidy to SAXONY, together with that of BAVARIA, I believe does not exceed fifty thouſand pounds. The moſt provoking circumſtances in regard to paying foreign ſubſidies, is being deſerted in time of need; and yet we are, in this reſpect, on the ſame footing as the FRENCH, ſuppoſing we give with the ſame attention to the natural intereſt of thoſe who receive, as the FRENCH do.

CHAP.

CHAP. XL.

A duel fought between two of the king's HANOVERIAN *ſubjects. Reflections on duelling.*

SINCE my arrival in this city[a], the great ſubject of diſcourſe was the duel, by which his majeſty had juſt loſt Mr. FRICHAPEL and Mr. SWEKEL, two of his principal HANOVERIAN ſubjects, the one being fled, and the other killed. The latter was a lord of the bed-chamber, and being in favour with the king, he had attended his majeſty into HOLLAND, though this office ordinarily belonged to FRICHAPEL as maſter of the horſe: this created a diſguſt and jealouſy, which were inflamed by an occaſional inſult. Both were ſaid to be equally diſpoſed to refer the deciſion of the matter to the ſword; SWEKEL, though no young man, and ſhort-ſighted, was weak enough to comply with the challenge, and loſt his life in the unequal combat, much to the regret of the court, and of all lovers of peace and amity.

What a reproach is it to the firſt magiſtrates of the CHRISTIAN world, that this cuſtom ſhould be ſo often connived at! A cuſtom which is conſidered by MAHOMMEDANS, and even PAGANS, as impious as it is ridiculous. Do princes imagine there is no other way to ſupport military courage and external politeneſs, but by the ſacrifice of religion and humanity? What a diſgrace to common ſenſe, that men, of the moſt gallant ſpirits in a nation, ſhould thus become the dupes of princes by a compliance with a tyrannical and fantaſtic rule of conduct, which has no ſound politic, nor one good reaſon to ſupport it?

His majeſty, it was ſaid, would have made the ſurvivor ſhorter by the head, had he remained in the HANOVERIAN dominions[b]. It might be wiſhed that the king would declare, and we ought to believe he would be as good as his word, that any man for the future, who has not courage and reſolu-

[a] HANOVER.

[b] Mr. FRICHAPEL has now a regiment in the FRENCH ſervice.

tion.

tion enough to obey the laws, nor humanity to forgive, nor even the moderation to appeal to others, ſhall be deemed a bad man, if not a coward, and receive no mercy, but what the laws will give him. Would it not be more honourable for CHRISTIAN princes to interpoſe, by baniſhing from their courts with infamy, every ſubject, who, being a party, pretends to be alſo judge, jury, and executioner in his own cauſe in this important article of life and death?

To take away life contrary to law, is a power which a king ought not to have; and which kings, in our happy iſle, muſt not aſſume: and ſhall a ſubject dare to do it? Yet the fault apparently lies in the breaſt of princes, that this deteſtable practice is not ſuppreſſed. Princes are the fountain of that honour, which is the principle on which the duelliſt is ſuppoſed to act. The connivance or reſentment of a king muſt feed or dry up the ſource of this deluſion, which is more owing to cuſtom, than to the badneſs of men's hearts; a cuſtom which, in the ages of ignorance and ſuperſtition, was not known among men; as if learning, politeneſs, and the light of the goſpel, were productive only of falſe refinements, diametrically oppoſite to humanity and religion. Princes are alſo ſupreme in religious matters. This is a caſe, which ſeems to require an appeal to the ſovereign of heaven and earth, whoſe vice-gerents princes ought to be; and if men, in a wanton purſuit of an imaginary honour, deſpiſe even death itſelf, what other law can rectify this abuſe, than the law of honour, of which the prince is the guardian? Hence the notions which render this practice in ſome inſtances warrantable, may, by a change of cuſtom, render it infamous, and the very memory of ſuch falſe notions will thus in time wear off.

If the fault is not imputable to princes, if they do not conſider ſuch practices as neceſſary evils, how comes it, for this is the common received opinion, that the honeſteſt man, and moſt gallant officer in an army, is obliged to give up his commiſſion after refuſal to fight, though demanded by a perſon, who is ſtupidly intrepid, and deſerves ſevere puniſhment for diſturbing the ſociety? But ſuppoſing the challenger is of a contrary character, I ſee not how the caſe is altered: The violation of human and di-

vine laws is the ſame. I muſt again repeat it, if the fault is not imputable to princes, how comes it that the ſurvivor is generally pardoned in conſequence of the prerogative of the crown?

It is true, many worthy men have been in the ſad caſe of the ſurviving duelliſt, by offending more from a regard to cuſtom than the badneſs of their hearts. Perhaps it was a debt to humanity to ſave them from the gallows, ſince they muſt have fought in ſome meaſure from their knowledge of the lenity of princes. Is it enough that the law declares it death to kill in a duel, when what we call the fair duelliſt knows that the ſurvivor is generally, I might ſay, ALWAYS pardoned? The deceaſed is always moſt in fault, or, what is very remarkable, always ſaid to be ſo: but did ſubjects of every rank know, that to meet an adverſary with weapons, with an intention of fighting, was certain death by the laws; and that the ſovereign would interpoſe only to ſee the laws executed, there is great reaſon to believe that no one would proceed to ſuch extremities.

The FRENCH in this caſe generally fly their country; many are connived at; and by a neglect of the laws which prevails in every nation in favour of the higher ranks, duelling is often deemed a rencounter[a], and as ſuch is pardoned. There are indeed many of the FRENCH abroad in an inglorious baniſhment for crimes of this nature, who make no ſecret of it, but avow the cauſe, by calling it an affair of honour; a ſpecious name indeed to colour a wicked action!

A prince is concerned to prevent this abuſe, not only as the chief magiſtrate, and the guardian of the laws, but in moſt countries as the principal military officer, or general of the army. In a camp this extravagant whim received its birth, and has been ſince propagated for about one hundred and fifty years, as much to the diſgrace of all pretenders to true honour, and the common laws of civil ſociety, as to the profeſſors of the chriſtian religion.

[a] I have heard that the FRENCH king takes an oath at his coronation not to pardon duels.

HENRY IV. of FRANCE is ſaid to have been the firſt that encouraged this practice, by which many a good ſubject has loſt his life, and many a family has been left in diſtreſs, who may juſtly call for vengeance on him who firſt gave countenance to ſo dangerous a ſyſtem. LEWIS XIV. did much in curbing this vice in FRANCE, and it became leſs faſhionable in other parts of EUROPE: but alas! ſince his time, in FRANCE and ſeveral parts of EUROPE, what a number of ſouls have been ſent to their laſt account full of this complicated crime, of regarding men rather than GOD? I ſay regarding men rather than GOD, ſince pride is certainly at the bottom, and every ſuch act of pride is plainly a rebellion againſt divine laws.

As this cuſtom ſo apparently ſtrikes at the fundamental laws of all ſociety, ought it not to be reſented as ſuch by the whole community? 'Tis amazing how impiouſly ſtupid ſome men are in this article in countries profeſſing chriſtianity, who preſume to diſpoſe of their lives as if they poſſeſſed them by an independent act of their own, and acknowledging no GOD, are directed intirely by their own caprice.

To intimidate theſe valiant men, it might perhaps be demonſtrated that duels are often fought for want of courage. Have the combatants reſolution to act up to the real ſenſe of things? If they have not, in what ſenſe are they brave beyond a dog or a lyon? And where is THE HONOUR of doing a wicked action for fear of wanting bread? An honeſt man will die rather than do a baſe action; and what is the notion of a baſe action but ſuch as is offenſive to GOD, and deſtructive of ſociety? Thinking men eſteem it a folly to ſay any thing in vindication of this flagitious practice; but how many even of theſe are preſerved more by the kindneſs of providence, than by the ſtrength and uprightneſs of their own hearts. The world is in many caſes an arrant cheat, and perhaps in no inſtance more than this. How many thouſands of gallant ſpirits are preſerved from the effects of a duel, becauſe they never receive any of thoſe INGENIOUS EPISTLES called CHALLENGES? I remember to have read of a man, who, whilſt he was writing a treatiſe againſt ſelf-murder, was found

found hanging on his bed-poſt. Such has been, and ſuch probably will be the caſe of many in regard to duels, if ſome more effectual method is not uſed to ſuppreſs them. As to men who profeſs arms, they DARE not maintain that they are chriſtians in this inſtance: they muſt be CAREFUL what they ſay, or rather they muſt be FALSE to their own ſenſe of the matter whenever they talk of it. Is it only then from the pulpit, or the moral writer, that the cuſtom is to be exploded? Are religion and true politics intereſting only to a few under particular circumſtances? Such is the ſtate of the polite chriſtian world! Thus men make themſelves the ſlaves of falſe opinions under the notion of bravery, not conſidering, that of all cowardice, that is the worſt, which enſlaves the mind, and compels a man to be falſe to his own heart.

To be reconciled to death is eſſential to a philoſopher and a chriſtian, that is, in fact to be really no coward; but it is equally eſſential to theſe characters to refuſe this criminal way of dying. It follows then, that theſe renounce the appearance of virtue for the reality of it. If the duelliſt acts contrary to this principle, he renounces the reality for the appearance. From hence we may obſerve how extravagantly abſurd the conduct of thoſe is, who offer incenſe to this capricious, cruel, lawleſs, ſtupid idol, opinion, dreſſed in the garb of honour, and under the diſguiſe of a gallant ſpirit.

That this matter requires ſerious animadverſion, is but too apparent: for my own part I have hardly met a man of the world, but leaned, in ſome degree, to the ſide of what they call the honourable duelliſt. The youth who has fought his duel, where no murder is committed, is ſometimes more diſtinguiſhed than the officer who has been in ten campaigns, has fought gallantly as many battles under a juſt command, and has truly ſerved, nay perhaps has been one of a few who ſaved, their country. Thus the falſe courage which carries men to deſtroy the laws, and bring on anarchy and confuſion, finds more reſpect than that which is employed according to the laws for the defence and preſervation of the ſociety, which can exiſt no longer than the laws. How exceedingly ab-

ſurd is it to ſhew a man a ſecret or an open contempt for not fighting, when if he kills his adverſary, humanity ſteps in, and we look on him with horror? Pity indeed often takes place, but the reflection that the laws have been contemned, is that which enters leaſt into our heads or hearts. To mention ourſelves with a good grace, though we exult in the ſatisfaction of having acted right, is a difficult taſk: but this apprehenſion muſt not hinder us from purſuing the great purpoſe and duty of life, nor render us really deficient on one ſide, whilſt we are afraid of being ſo on the other. Perhaps a falſe ſhame in well diſpoſed minds has done more harm than all the vanity or affectation of the weak part of mankind: the triumphs of the underſtanding ought to be diſtinguiſhed from the vanity of the heart. Some confeſſions of our conduct and principles, even when we approve, require a great mixture of ſelf-denial; for there is hardly a man breathing, who is not in ſome inſtances a ſlave to OPINION: beſides, arguments deduced from the general reaſon of things, though they may affect the underſtanding, do not penetrate the heart ſo deep as precepts which are brought into action.

The reader is by this time acquainted with my ſentiments, if he believes I am ſincere. May I then, as I am writing a journal, mention a circumſtance of my own life? I once received a challenge. A certain manuſcript of no conſequence, clandeſtinely taken, and miſrepreſented, gave an alarm to a gentleman of the fighting ſort; upon which I received a letter from him, conceived in theſe terms:

"SIR,

"I Underſtand you are the author of a paper ſubſcribed * * * *, in which "I are initial letters that I preſume mean me. As I ALWAYS MAKE "IT A POINT TO RESENT AFFRONTS, I deſire you will meet me at "* * * *, and bring your ſword with you.

"I am, &c."

To which I anſwered to this effect:

"SIR,

"SIR,

"IN reply to your letter, the meaning of which I ſuppoſe is a challenge "to fight with you: as I do not underſtand by what authority you "call me to account, I will NOT tell you whether I am the author of any "ſuch paper as you mention, or not: but this I think my honour is con- "cerned to tell you, that I never intend to do any man an injury; and if "an offence does come, that honour alſo obliges me to make atonement, "without putting my friends to the trouble of fighting: and for my part "I ALWAYS MAKE IT A POINT NOT TO RESENT AFFRONTS, beyond "the meaſure which reaſon and religion warrant.

"As to meeting you at ****, I have no inclination to walk in ſuch "weather as this, much leſs am I diſpoſed to fight for NOTHING; but a "ſword I ALWAYS wear, intending to uſe it upon every JUST occaſion.

"I am, &c."

My antagoniſt was ſatisfied, and no doubt was glad to be excuſed fighting, as all men are except thoſe who are intoxicated with wine, or what is much the ſame, with anger; or quite deprived of underſtanding. What an abſurd cuſtom is this! A man injures me, and therefore I muſt alſo give him an opportunity of killing me: on the other hand, what can poſſeſs a man with an opinion that he muſt fight becauſe another is ſo mad as to require it of him? Is the challenge a ſufficient provocation? that is, as if becauſe a man demands the loan of a large ſum of money, I muſt lend it at the hazard of my own ruin: if a man by a treſpaſs forfeits his right in his own life; if I have a right to kill him, if I think it good to remove him as a villain, why ſhould I not kill him in the moſt convenient way? The grand point will be who is to judge in this matter; I think at leaſt ſome caſuiſt of learning and great probity ought to be conſulted in ſo important a caſe; and after all I am afraid the laws would judge this private vindictive juſtice as murder, and me to be hanged.

To bring the thing home to my own breaſt, now I am upon the ſubject, I will ſuppoſe I had the ſame ſort of ſenſe in this buſineſs as my adverſary,

verſary, and had carried my ſword as he deſired, uſed it and died, and been brought to my laſt account, for ſuch account I believe there will be; what could I ſay in my own defence? That I was not afraid of GOD, but I feared the phantom OPINION. But what if I had killed my adverſary, and, to put the matter in the beſt light, been pardoned by human laws; could all my tears of repentance have cleanſed my hand from this HONOURABLE MURDER? Ought I not to run it into the flames, and ſtand, as a ROMAN [b] did on a worſe occaſion, to ſee it burnt off, to expiate the bloody deed, if ſuch expiation could avail?

A friend of mine mentioned an acquaintance of his who treated a challenge leſs ſeriouſly, by calling out in a public coffee-houſe, "You "* * * *, what did you mean by ſending me a challenge, do you think "that at my time of life I am ſuch a fool to fight a duel?"

There is no man who acts virtuouſly but ſomebody or other ſuffers when he dyes: however, let us conſider him in the different relations of life; ſuppoſe him wedded to a woman of honour and ſentiments, a kind huſband, a dutiful ſon, a tender parent, and conſequently it may be preſumed a faithful friend; and, except in this wild enthuſiaſm, a lover of his country. Behold him proſtrate on the earth, killed by the hand of him who perhaps was yeſterday the friend of his boſom; and a man whom he loved and wiſhed to ſerve; ſent to his laſt account with all his ſins upon him; plunged into eternity in a rebellious act againſt the plain decrees of heaven. Whilſt we ſee the blood iſſuing from his wound, behold the gentle matron, the partner of all his happineſs or miſery, with floods of tears ſtreaming from her eyes, calling for that aid which no mortal arm can give. The tender infant by her ſide knows not that one fatal thruſt, robs him of all the joys, the comforts and ſupport, with which providence had bleſſed him in a parent, now no more. The aged father loſing his ſon, in whom all his worldly joys were centered, and for whom only he wiſhed to live, droops his hoary head and dies with ſorrow. On the other hand what horror muſt invade

[b] M. SCÆVOLA.

the

the ſoul of the ſurviving duelliſt! The reproaches of his heart, and his fearful apprehenſions of the laws, muſt fill him with diſmay. If it was only to die, death is but a debt we owe to nature, and the end of life is to pay that debt in a graceful manner: but under theſe circumſtances it is ſhocking Not the devouring flames; nor ſtorms that plunge the affrighted mariner into his watery grave, have half the terrors of this dreadful ſcene.

The moſt capital misfortune attending the preludes to theſe cataſtrophes, is the frequent careleſsneſs, or too great confidence in a ſuppoſed accommodation, on the parts of by-ſtanders, or of the friends of the parties contending; to which we may add, the ſuppoſed ſhame of the parties in aſking advice in ſuch caſes. I have been more than once aſſured by a very gallant ſea officer, who has given proof of his courage upon the moſt important occaſions, that he has been inſtrumental in making up near a dozen quarrels, which to all appearance muſt otherwiſe have proceeded to the extremity of a duel.

If a beatitude is annexed to feeding the hungry and cloathing the naked, how amiable in the ſight of GOD muſt that man be who ſaves the ſouls as well as bodies of his fellow-creatures!

Not to think of death as the entrance into ANOTHER STATE, is to neglect the moſt eſſential duty of THIS; and to fear death is to renounce our patrimony; to turn a bleſſing into a curſe; to prefer pain to pleaſure; and to imbitter the joys which the kindneſs of providence has ſo liberally preſented to us. We ought to be ready to meet death, and in ſome caſes even to wiſh for it. We ought to long for a glorious occaſion to finiſh the campaign of life; but it ſhould be a glorious, that is a juſt occaſion. What man in his right mind would not die a martyr to the principles on which his eternity depended; and ſuffer himſelf to be ſtoned to death under the harſh name of a coward, rather than die, or even live by the ſword, as a fool? a fool, if there is a GOD, and a ſtate of rewards for good, and puniſhments for evil actions; who ſhipwrecks his hopes, and renounces all the profit of a long and dangerous voyage for NOTHING; for the breath of idle tatlers, for indigeſted opinions, and the falſe judgment of thoſe who reject theſe conſiderations in their plan of life. We all

all naturally deſire to be beloved in life, and applauded by men; however uncertain and precarious the advantages of ſuch love and applauſe: but how great ſoever they are, they MUST terminate with THAT life, of which we are thus ſo ſtupidly laviſh; though at the ſame time we know, that if we obſerve a conſiſtent conduct in this world, we muſt deny the immortality of the ſoul, and refuſe our acknowledgment that GOD is wiſe, juſt, and merciful; or expect that immortality in a ſtate of happineſs, in compariſon of which the higheſt human felicity is but the "baſeleſs fabric of a viſion."

CHAP. XLI.

Further reflexions on duelling, with the caſes of a demand to draw, the lie given, or a blow received; with the conduct of a reaſonable man of honour in an appeal to national juſtice.

MANY admonitions have been written on the ſubject of duelling, and ſome of them, no doubt, have made impreſſions on men, however diſpoſed, by their circumſtances and profeſſions, to be numbered amongſt the lawleſs combatants. We have lately ſeen men profeſſing arms[a], who have declined the challenge; but whilſt ſo many adopt falſe principles, it is not poſſible to eradicate this pernicious cuſtom.

Various are the incidents which bear a great affinity with the more cool and deliberate invitation to the duel. A caſe once happened by the well-meant officiouſneſs of a gentleman; he endeavoured to ſoften the wrath of a perſon, who directed it at no higher an object than a porter. This gentleman afterwards run his inflamed adverſary through the body, in conſequence of the OFFENCE of demanding him to DRAW. How can we reconcile a conduct which brought on ſo fatal a cataſtrophe? Would it not have been more conſiſtent for this gentleman to retire? Is it a ſhame to run away from a madman? The riſk of being killed by direct aſſaſſination, had he retired, was not perhaps as one to ten equal to the hazard of the combat; ſo that it ſeems as if he choſe the greater danger

[a] If ſome public relations are genuine.

to

to avoid the leſs: but how much more glorious had it been to die in ſuch a caſe, whilſt he endeavoured to avoid ſpilling the blood of his fellow-creature, under ſuch circumſtances of diſgrace to human nature, than to live the wretched vanquiſher of ſo miſerable a being? However romantic this thought may appear, I confeſs I ſee as great a duty to avoid killing a man, though at the hazard of one's own life, as to endeavour to defend a fellow-creature, under certain circumſtances, at the ſame hazard: and there is no man of true bravery, but, upon ſome occaſions, will run the riſk of his own life to ſave that of another perſon. As to the caſe of direct aſſaſſination, the firſt principle of life teaches us what to do.

In relation to the accidents which happen for want of fixed principles, I have ſeen ſeveral caſes. A particular acquaintance of mine abroad, was taken up by the watch, when he was ſo much diſordered in liquor, that he was not capable of diſtinguiſhing; his friend paſſing by, and hearing of the event, gave bail for him. As they walked together, he demanded ſatisfaction of his benefactor for an offence committed by another perſon: his friend, inſtead of flying from this temporary madman, fought with him, and they both loſt their lives.

I have often wondered that well-regulated ſtates ſhould ſuffer the profeſſion of a fencing-maſter[b]: to one that has been ſaved by the knowledge of this ſcience, twenty have been loſt. We often find bad men excel in this art, and the beſt are not excuſed on account of their ignorance of it. What have we to do with a ſcience, of which the laws forbid the uſe? Men are not taught to counterfeit a hand-writing, nor to coin falſe money. National quarrels are not determined by the ſword of the duelliſt; nor can the beſt fencer parry a muſket-ball, or a bayonet. But a knowledge of the uſe of the fuſee, or ſpontoon, may be of great advantage in the field of battle. A warlike nation ſhould learn how to kill their enemies when there is a neceſſity for it, and not their countrymen when there is none. As to fencing, it has been frequently a temptation to deſperate actions;

[b] Except that the challenged may chuſe his weapons; I once heard of a man who choſe a pitch-fork, which, though improper for a gentleman, had good effect, for it prevented the duel.

and men often engage with an entire knowledge of their great ſuperiority, as well as a preſumption of it. Of the laſt ſort I knew a very particular inſtance.

A very near relation of mine was once attacked in the open ſtreets in full day by one of theſe fighting gentlemen, who, it ſeems, took him for another perſon. He retired, and told him, "Sir, for heaven's ſake forbear; "I never ſaw you before, nor know I who you are." This however did not reſtrain the aggreſſor. His eyes were as blind as his heart: he puſhed forward, and, as the price of his raſhneſs, he received a mortal wound, and only lived to beg pardon for his miſtake.

Another remarkable event happened alſo to the ſame perſon: he was challenged by a man whom he had never ſeen, nor heard of. As a man of the ſword however he conſented, and had the fortune to make his antagoniſt beg his life: this perſon then confeſſed, that he had no motive to fighting but his diſtreſſed condition, and entreated his antagoniſt to aſſiſt him. The wounds he had received, now made him the greater object of compaſſion; ſo that this extravagant enterprize ended in the aggreſſor's being relieved by the charity of the man whom he had provoked to this deſperate trial of ſkill.

Inſtances of this ſort are very numerous, ariſing, for the moſt part, from the ſame cauſe, viz. a groſs ignorance of what a man ought to do under certain circumſtances. For what can HONOUR mean, if it is not A RULE OF CONDUCT? However complicated caſes of this nature are, the ordinary incentives to ſuch cataſtrophes are a demand to DRAW, that is, to fight; the lie given; or a blow. As to the firſt, the party offending by this demand is generally in anger, and as incapable of reaſon as the drunken man. If by this demand he means to kill you on the ſpot, if you do not kill him; what is it leſs than aſſaſſination? and if no relief can be obtained, all means either of art or force are warrantable for the preſervation of life. But if it is only a ſimple propoſition to fight with him, as is generally underſtood, it ought to be conſidered as a propoſal, to leap with him from the top of a houſe, and he ſhould be regarded as a mad-

man:

man: however, as he bears the figure of a man, his perſon ought to be ſacred, and all poſſible means uſed to protect him from himſelf.

As to giving the lie, the antient ROMANS, whoſe valour we never call in queſtion, conſidered it only as a contradiction. Cuſtom, pride, or a higher ſenſe of moral virtue in ſome, and an affectation of it in others, have rendered this word very harſh and violent to us: but human laws ſeldom take any cognizance of it, unleſs with reſpect to men of high rank, or eminent authority. If the party HAS really uttered an injurious falſity, the puniſhment will, in a great meaſure, attend it; and if he has NOT, the lie is retorted, and the diſhonour properly fixed: but in matters of fact, or aſſertion, witneſſes only can determine, and reſentments of this ſort ought, in all reaſon, to be referred to a court of honour; that is, to the friends of the parties, who may eaſily accommodate ſuch a quarrel, when men really mean to act LIKE MEN.

But the ſevereſt trial of a man is by a blow. This is the treatment of a ſlave, or a malefactor, and he who is above the rank of the loweſt of mankind, or has any conſciouſneſs of his own dignity, ought, in juſtice to himſelf, and to the community, to require ſatisfaction; becauſe this is an offence againſt the ſociety, of which the laws take cognizance. Out of reſpect then to the ſociety, and in obedience to the laws, he ought to appeal to them. Suppoſe then a man is ſtruck without a juſt provocation, let him appeal to the magiſtrate, to whom he is ſuppoſed to have entered into a ſolemn engagement to refer his cauſe, in conſequence of the common protection he derives from the laws.

But as ſuch appeals are not often made by men, who profeſs to have a very high ſenſe of honour, it ought to be extremely clear that they mean to ſupport the reſpect due to the laws, abſtracted from all private conſiderations; and therefore if the ſatisfaction, which may be judged due for the injury done, is pecuniary; they muſt transfer it in truſt for the uſe of the poor; not as a gift, but as a forfeiture to the poor by the offender. A man who would not do a baſe action for gain, ought not to benefit by ſuch a forfeiture, not even in the ſuppoſed merit of a charity. A villain

may artfully provoke an honeſt man to an offence againſt the laws, with a view to private benefit: but as no man of honour will ſuffer diſgrace for the ſake of gain; he ought alſo to avoid the appearance of ſuch advantage, in any caſe it is his duty to reſt in a determined reſolution to be really a man of honour, and not a ſlave to opinion, againſt the light of his own mind; againſt the laws of his country; and againſt the aweful majeſty of heaven.

The higheſt indignity, in the ordinary eſtimation of crimes of this ſort, is for a man, who profeſſes arms, to receive a blow. In a free country the military law being ſubſervient to civil inſtitutions, we muſt conclude that a court-martial would proceed upon much the ſame principles as any other court of judicature.

Let us ſuppoſe then even a gentleman of the army confronting the tranſgreſſor in the preſence of the judge, and that he means to act like a CHRISTIAN, and a good member of the community, as well as a ſoldier: I preſume his pleading would ſtand thus:

"As I believe the religion of CHRIST, I now appear before your lord-"ſhips for my hope in that religion; I appear to vindicate the decrees of "heaven, and to reſcue them from contempt. I plead, my lord, in de-"fence of the higheſt privilege of mankind, deſiring to prove, by my own "ſubmiſſion, that the wiſe author of nature has not ordained any partial law, "which is obligatory only to people under particular circumſtances.

"I know that cuſtom has not only made it honourable to decide "ſuch complaints as mine by the ſword of private vindictive juſtice, but "alſo diſhonourable to appeal to any other. That cuſtom, unſupported "by reaſon, is the law of fools, is acknowledged by all men of common "ſenſe; yet as it has been the cuſtom for the higheſt ranks of mankind, "to neglect the national juſtice, and revenge themſelves with their own "arm; in the eyes of many I muſt appear, if not as a coward, at leaſt as in-"ferior to them in courage, and a due ſenſe of honour. Whilſt the "world is enſlaved to OPINION, men will appear with dignity, or diſgrace, "as they follow or abandon the ſtandard of this tyrant.

"But

" But I apprehend, my lord, that the important affair now under con-
" ſideration, is not how I am to pay a blind homage to cuſtom, or opi-
" nion; but how to expreſs the ſubmiſſion of a reaſonable being to reaſon-
" able laws, with a due regard to both worlds. Human inſtitutions are
" ever preſumed to be directed by the higher motives of divine laws; to
" evade the one, is to deſpiſe the other. As I know that my freedom,
" my religion, and all that is dear to me, are ſecured by the laws, and
" that the protection derived from them, implies a ſolemn obligation on
" my part; can I, with the name of honour, pretend to annul that obli-
" gation? In this light things appear to me: but I have learnt alſo, by long
" experience, the fallacy of human wiſdom; how incapable we often are
" to judge for ourſelves; and how differently the ſame action appears to
" the ſame perſon at different times: upon this account alſo I appeal to
" the judgment of this honourable court. I refer my cauſe to the laws of
" GOD and my country, in hopes that the day will come, when ſoldiers
" will have the courage to act like men, and like CHRISTIANS; and to
" dare to do any thing which ought to be done: till that day comes, he
" who has the courage to act up to the dictates of his conſcience, and
" the clear precepts of his religion, muſt deplore an evil which he cannot
" rectify, and ſtand up againſt the imputation even of cowardice, rather
" than renounce that conſcience and religion.

" There is another reaſon, my lord, why, contrary to all cuſtom with
" men of my profeſſion, I appear before this honourable aſſembly. The
" common dictates of humanity call on me to demand juſtice in this
" manner; not the dictates of a mean ſelf-love; nor a daſtardly fear of
" death; but the cauſe of honour and of liberty, the cauſe of my fellow-
" citizens and countrymen: as it is my duty to fight for them WHEN I AM
" CALLED, I now mean, my lord, to preſerve their lives, and, by endeavour-
" ing to ſtop the current of a flagitious practice, to ſcreen them from in-
" famy or diſgrace in the like circumſtances.

" If we enjoy life, and the name of honour, only by the romantic cle-
" mency of him who dares to draw his ſword in defiance of the laws,
" what is this, in effect, but ſlavery? He that challenges to an illegal com-

" bat,

" bat, and has it in his power to blaſt my reputation, if I refuſe; is he " not a more dangerous member of the community, than he who chal- " lenges me to deliver my purſe, and will neither touch my life nor ho- " nour, if I conſent: and if it is inglorious to ſollicit for juſtice againſt " thoſe who violate the rules of civil ſociety; the conſequence muſt be, that " it is glorious to perſecute and deſtroy the virtuous, who are the ſupport " of that ſociety.

" In all the dreadful ſcenes of blood, which my duty, as a ſoldier, has " often engaged me; I ever conſidered it as my pride and honour to be " obedient to the command of my ſuperiors, though it were to ruſh on cer- " tain death: that is the law of a ſoldier in the field of battle: the ſame rule " of conduct now brings me before this honourable court. As in thoſe " ſcenes of ſlaughter, I never thought it juſtifiable to kill an enemy out of " mere revenge, or to take a life, which, conſiſtently with my duty, I " could ſpare; what change of principles ſhould now induce me to run " the hazard of robbing my fellow-ſubject of his life, from the impulſe " of a lawleſs revenge? A revenge which, if followed, mankind would " be reduced to a ſtate of war, the links of humanity would be broken, " and the foundation of all ſociety rooted up.

" And now, my lord, in what degree the offender is puniſhable, reſts " on the judgment of this honourable aſſembly: I do not mean to biaſs " the court, or load the aggreſſor with guilt, ariſing from motives per- " haps foreign to his thoughts: on the contrary, I hope he will expe- " rience ſuch a mitigation of his puniſhment, as will demonſtrate to him- " ſelf, and to all the world, either that honour, equity, and all the ſacred " regards by which ſociety is ſupported, are, in the courſe of national " juſtice entirely neglected; or, that it is abſurd, unjuſt, and inhuman, " to revenge a blow, the wild effect of anger, by no leſs a chaſtiſement " than the death of the offender."

CHAP.

CHAP. XLII.

A ſhort account of ZELL, *the adjacent country, and the paſſage of the* ELBE. *Obſervations on the hoſpitality of the* BRITISH *factory in* HAMBURG, *with ſome reflections on the ſacrament. Of the body corporate of that factory. Of the houſes, inhabitants, government, military force, fortification, territories, and trade of* HAMBURG. *A ſhort account of* ALTONA.

THE 13th of September I left HANOVER, and proceeded to ENZEN, a ſmall mean village; the road to this place exhibits little more than heath, with very few houſes and inhabitants, for two GERMAN miles and a half. From thence to ZELL is two GERMAN miles and a half; the chief production of the country near the road, is turf, which ſerves as fuel for the adjacent inhabitants. About three feet from the ſurface of the earth, I obſerved in ſeveral places the remains of antient buildings, which the common people are idle enough to think have remained there ever ſince the deluge.

ZELL is a very conſiderable place, and guarded by a fortification: it has been formerly the reſidence of the dukes of that name, but by marriage it is now devolved to the houſe of HANOVER. The palace is fortified by a wall and a mote, and, being on an eminence, commands an extenſive proſpect. Here are four LUTHERAN churches, one FRENCH, and one DUTCH reformed church, and one for the ROMAN catholics. The buildings for the moſt part are very mean, being chiefly of wood. The town has a ſmall trade with BREMEN, by means of the river ALLER; and now afforded quarters to a regiment of 700 men. It has been alſo long diſtinguiſhed for a ſtud of exceeding fine horſes, of which I ſaw many: here are ſometimes to the number of one hundred and fifty; the pedigree of each horſe is marked on the poſt of the ſtall. Beſides many beautiful horſes for the ſaddle, there is a very fine ſet of cream-coloured horſes for a coach of ſtate.

From

From ZELL I travelled to WEISSENDORFF, which is four exceſſive long GERMAN miles; the greateſt part of the way appears like a deſert, having only three or four mean villages, and very little corn land, but ſome flocks of ſheep. This electorate ſupplies the greateſt part of GERMANY with mutton, as BRANDENBURG and WESTPHALIA produces hogs, and HUNGARY beef; but the trade in corn is very ſmall, as each of thoſe countries produces ſufficient for its own conſumption.

On the 15th I went to ZÆHRENDORF, four GERMAN miles, the country ſtill abounding in heaths and woods. The villagers in ſome places complained of the unwholeſome air. Whether this ariſes from the earth not being cultivated, the number of inhabitants being ſmall, or from the badneſs of the ſoil I cannot determine. On the 16th I travelled on to HAMBURG, four GERMAN miles: the country towards the banks of the ELBE has a more agreeable aſpect. Travellers ſometimes go by SPICKERWICK, where the ELBE being much narrower, the paſſage is ſhort and the charge eaſy; from thence on the north eaſt banks of the ELBE there are many delightful gardens in the territories of HAMBURG; whereas at HARBURG it is five or ſix ENGLISH miles croſs the ELBE to HAMBURG. The banks of this river below the city, are in ſome places very lofty, and exhibit a delightful view of the ſeveral ſmall iſlands in the middle of it. It is very unlucky for travellers who are well inclined to entertain a good opinion of the electorate of HANOVER, that the road from the metropolis croſs the country to the ELBE in the rout to HAMBURG, has ſo barren and deſolate an appearance. The diſtricts of ZELL and LUNENBURG are by no means ſcenes of pleaſure or profit; but at ſome diſtance from the road in proper HANOVER, I am aſſured are lands fertile and well peopled, which indeed ought to be inferred from the amount of the revenues of this electorate, as already mentioned; though theſe ariſe chiefly from the mines.

The 17th. Being now arrived in a great trading city, amongſt a conſiderable BRITISH factory, with ſome of the members of which I had particular connections from commercial intereſt, I conſidered myſelf as at home;

home; and indeed the politeneſs, hoſpitality, and agreeable converſation of the factory in general made it ſuch to me.

It is a common vice of mankind to ſuffer the moſt trivial incidents of life to divert them from religious duties, and to furniſh themſelves with an excuſe for that neglect. The day after my arrival being the ſabbath, if the motive of devotion had failed, curioſity would, I think, have carried me to divine ſervice: of all curſes idleneſs ſeems to be one of the worſt, and of all kinds of idleneſs, that of neglecting the ſabbath ſeems to be the moſt unworthy. "Remember that thou keep holy the ſabbath day," is as clear an injunction as "Thou ſhalt not murder;" as clear and forcible as if the Almighty was to look down from the battlements of heaven, and declare in thunder "This is my will." But if the foundations of the earth were ſhaken, would men awake to their duty? The chaplain, Mr. MURRAY, gave us an excellent diſcourſe on this text, "Take this in remembrance of me;" he remarked "That men, who "are really ſincere, and endeavour to think and act well, are not diſ- "qualified for receiving the ſacrament from what they imagine or fear, "however ſeemingly contrary to the ſpirit of religion." A weak judgment and a roving fancy are moſt certainly apt to diſturb the beſt men; but the real good or evil in conſequence of the ſacrament, muſt be determined by the effect it has on our lives; by engaging us to forſake our ſins, as we thereby covenant and agree to do: this law is of eternal obligation, whether we commemorate his death or not; but if we will not commemorate, we break one eſſential part of that law, by neglecting his abſolute command, "Take this in remembrance of me;" an argument which is intelligible to a child, and as concluſive as volumes of theology. If the taking that ſacrament is enjoined as the means of remembering him; as a token of rememberance, and as an act of gratitude to him as a friend and benefactor; to neglect this command ſeems to imply, that we do not chuſe to remember him, nor to take any pains to expreſs our gratitude to him. Were we to judge from the conduct of ſome CHRISTIANS, one would be tempted to think ſuch an injunction was really never made, or that they really were not CHRISTIANS.

It is very familiar to common obſervation, that men who demonſtrate a ſcrupulous forbearance of offences which are clearly forbidden, do not regard this duty, though it is as clearly commanded; as if one implied guilt, but not the other. If they were juſt to themſelves, they would not only reflect on the abſurdity of this conduct, but alſo that they neglect one of the moſt eſſential means of procuring the pardon of their ſins.

This is a long introduction to a ſhort ſtory. The congregation of the BRITISH factory at HAMBURG, though neither methodiſts nor fanatics; being about fifty perſons of both ſexes, all, except one, received the ſacrament on this occaſion. A ſight which I never ſaw before, nor ever expect to ſee again, unleſs I ſhould happen to go to HAMBURG. The chapel belonging to the factory is very neatly finiſhed with oak, and of a proper and convenient ſize. Mr. MURRAY is deſervedly beloved for his learning and agreeable converſation, for his perſuaſive diſcourſes, and the natural and juſt manner in which he delivers them.

The BRITISH factory which removed from FLANDERS to HAMBURG, are poſſeſſed of privileges ſince about 1610, confirmed by a convention with the regency, as diſtinguiſhed as any body of foreigners enjoy in any part of the commercial world. The HAMBURGERS found it their intereſt to indulge them, inſomuch that, till the revolution, they had an excluſive privilege of importing cloth; but this liberty is now free to any of the inhabitants of the city. This factory is incorporated into a company, conſiſting of thirteen members, a governor [a], and deputy governor [b]. All diſputes among themſelves are referred to the final deciſion of a majority of voices. They alſo judge with regard to their demands on the burghers; but in this caſe a deputation of two ſenators is required to act in concert with them. Their judgments are ſo juſt and ſummary that the burghers generally make application to them, when they have demands upon any of the BRITISH factors, preferring their deciſions to any other court in the juriſ-

[a] Mr. JOHN GORE. [b] Mr. JOHN THORNTON, who reſides on the ſpot.

diction

diction of the city. The trade of this company is not ſo conſiderable as it was at the latter end of the laſt century.

Beſides the pleaſure which they enjoy in domeſtic diverſions and mutual acts of hoſpitality, the king of DENMARK has granted them a privilege of hunting in his juriſdiction, to the extent of about ten ENGLISH miles, and ſome of the factors often take this amuſement.

HAMBURG is well known to be a hanſe town of the moſt importance of any in EUROPE. It is ſaid to have derived its name from the adjacent foreſt of HAM, ſo early as the beginning of the eighth century: its reputation for laws, and ſituation for trade, has long ſince furniſhed it with opulent inhabitants. It ſtands in the dukedom of HOLSTEIN, on the north ſide of the ELBE, where this river forms many iſlands; ſome part of the town is ſo low, that north weſt winds and high tides extremely incommode the inhabitants, by the overflowing of the water. The houſes are built very ſtrong and lofty, and many of them are extremely neat. Moſt of the ſtreets are ſo narrow as hardly to ſuffer wheel carriages to paſs each other, but their coachmen are remarkably dexterous. Vehicles of this ſort, which were hardly known amongſt them ſeventy years ago, are now very common. There are alſo many ſtreets which are ſpacious, but theſe lying higher, and more detached from the water, are not ſo much frequented by merchants of any conſideration.

Here are generally miniſters from moſt of the princes in EUROPE, but I believe more for the affairs and correſpondency relating to GERMANY and the north, than for what regards the city. I had the pleaſure of being very politely received, particularly by Mr. COPE, the ENGLISH reſident, who is much beloved.

The number of inhabitants in this city, appears to be larger than it really is; as much the greateſt part of them are abroad and in motion. Mechanics are not numerous here; and of manufactures, ſugar-baking and calicoe-printing are the great articles; gold and ſilver lace, ſilks and ſtockings are alſo made, but in no conſiderable quantities. The families which

pay ſcot and lot are about 14,000, and the ſoldiery, including their wives and children, are reckoned 10,000. There is about the ſame number of foreigners; ſo that, reckoning ſeven perſons to a family, the whole makes 118,000. The ſuburbs and villages adjacent, may encreaſe it to half as many more.

The better ſort of people here are extremely affable, moſt of them having travelled; but the women are bred up with great reſerve. They generally go veiled with black ſilk; but not ſo as to hide their faces, when they have any reaſon to entertain a favourable opinion of their own beauty. Though here are many inſtances of gay life, eſpecially at particular ſeaſons, yet there is no appearance of ſtate or grandeur amongſt them; their chief purſuit is trade. Thoſe who have left off buſineſs are eſteemed in the ſame rank with merchants. As there are no marks of regal authority to create a due ſubordination, the eaſy circumſtances of the greateſt part of the inhabitants, have introduced a ſpecies of inſolence and impoſition on ſtrangers, peculiar to a republican ſtate: the common people tread cloſe upon the heels of thoſe of higher rank. I obſerved alſo they have introduced the cuſtom of giving money to ſervants; and, as in ſome other countries, convert the domeſtic obligations of ſociety into acts of venality.

The government of this city is compoſed of four burgomaſters; the emoluments annexed to their offices generally yield 1000 l. a year each, particularly the two elder of them, who have the diſpoſal of ſeveral places. The next in rank are ſenators, of whom there are twenty-four; their dreſs reſembles the antient habit of the SPANIARDS: fourteen of theſe muſt be choſen from among the merchants, and ten bred to the ſtudy of the law. The ſenators are ſometimes very illiterate perſons, but when choſen they are obliged to forſake their ſhops, and keep a coach. Their ſalary is two hundred pounds per annum, but they are choſen for life, and their perquiſites are conſiderable: ſuits at law are determined by the ſenate; criminal affairs by the ſenate and burghers. There are alſo four ſindics, or lawyers, who act as ſecretaries of the ſtate, and on whom the

the greateſt weight of the executive part of the government lies; next to theſe are four real ſecretaries. The city is divided into five pariſhes, in which are five capital churches; the moſt modern, dedicated to St. MICHAEL, was reduced to aſhes by lightening in 1749. There is alſo the DOME, which is a cathedral church governed by a dean and ſecular canons, remarkable for its antiquity, being built in the time of CHARLEMAGNE; it is now partly under the protection of his majeſty king GEORGE, in the quality of duke of BREMEN and VERDEN: each of theſe pariſhes has three officers in the nature of the tribunes of the people among the antient ROMANS; and nothing of moment is reſolved on by the ſenate without their concurrence. When taxes are laid on the people, fifty burghers of each pariſh muſt be preſent to conſtitute a proper aſſembly for this purpoſe, and the ſame tax is never prolonged above a year. Upon theſe occaſions the gates of the city are ſhut, and nobody permitted to go in or out till the aſſembly is broke up. Though upon the principle of that liberty which I have mentioned, the inhabitants are ſometimes with difficulty kept within bounds; yet, in the ordinary courſe of things, good order and oeconomy are preſerved.

The religion eſtabliſhed here is the LUTHERAN; nor is there a toleration as in AMSTERDAM, or LONDON. The ROMAN catholics are objects of great jealouſy; but the JEWS are indulged, and ſupport themſelves by commerce and brokerage: indeed the greateſt part of the POLISH JEWS appear to be in a wretched condition; but the PORTUGUEZE are not in ſuch deſpicable circumſtances.

The eſtabliſhment of regular forces in this city is 2500 men; but the magiſtracy ſeldom ſupport ſo many: they are however very cautious in ſhutting their gates early, and will, upon no occaſion, open a wicket, though the town might raiſe a conſiderable tax by means of it. This part of oeconomy puts a great reſtraint on the citizens, and habituates them the more to moderation in purſuit of pleaſures and amuſement.

The fortifications of this town, on the land-ſide, are conſidered as very ſtrong; but the greateſt ſecurity of it is the jealouſy of the ſeveral princes,

ces, who have, from time to time, formed pretenſions, and caſt an ambitious eye towards it. The walk round the ramparts is about four ENGLISH miles, and in moſt parts very pleaſant. On the eaſt ſide is a large piece of water formed by a ſmall river called the ALSTER, within the walls, on which the town's people amuſe themſelves in the ſummer, by rowing about it, attended by bands of muſicians.

The citizens have alſo ſeveral gardens on the banks of the ELBE and ALSTER, ſome of which are agreeable: but they are moſtly in the DUTCH taſte, very ſmall, and kept in ſuch exquiſite order, as rather to exhibit a poppet-ſhew, than a rural ſcene; much leſs is there any grandeur in them.

The territories of this city are but ſmall: on the north-weſt ſide there is a conſiderable fort on an eminence, which ſerves as an out-work to the town, and as a boundary of its dominion; ALTONA, on the weſt, is within half a mile. To the north they have only about one mile; but to the eaſt, along the banks of the ELBE, about ſixteen, which, in the broadeſt place, is not above four miles [h].

Several of the citizens, who have acquired great fortunes by commerce, have purchaſed large eſtates in the neighbouring territories, under the juriſdiction of the ſeveral princes; but this is apt to create jealouſies among thoſe whoſe property is in trade only, or within the territory of HAMBURG. Monſieur PIERRE HISS, a FRENCH merchant, to whom I am obliged for the polite reception he gave me, is ſaid to be worth above 100,000 l. acquired from a very ſmall beginning; and there are others, whoſe opulence is not inferior.

This place muſt be conſidered with reſpect to GERMANY, what AMSTERDAM is to EUROPE, a magazine of the different produce, and merchandize of the trading world. Many of the houſes are built on the very edge of the canals, ſo that ſhips may unload into their warehouſes. The number of veſſels, of any conſiderable burthen, belonging to the town, is computed at four hundred, of which thirty of the princi-

[h] In this paſſage I mean ENGLISH miles.

pal

pal are employed in the trade to and from LONDON. They have many in the FRENCH trade, particularly about forty, which bring wine, and other commodities, from BOURDEAUX; a great number in the GREENLAND trade, beſides many which navigate the BALTIC, and ſome alſo to PORTUGAL, SPAIN, the MEDITERRANEAN, &c.

They keep their accounts in marks and ſchillings, 16 ſchillings to a mark. The agio varies, but the bank-money is generally about 15 or 16 per cent. better than current.

Formerly the DANISH money was their chief currency, but now they have a coin of their own; one HAMBURG ſchilling is equal to two DANISH, or a peny ENGLISH. There are 4 ſchilling pieces, or $\frac{1}{4}$ mark, and 8 ſchillings or $\frac{1}{2}$ mark. A ducat, which paſſes for 2 and $\frac{3}{4}$ dollars in BRANDENBURG and SAXONY, is worth here 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ dollars of HAMBURG. Here is a difference of bank and current money, as in AMSTERDAM; a ducat which paſſes for 7 marks current, is worth but 6 bank money; 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ſchillings are equal to 2 gude groſchen; and all ſorts of money are taken here, valued according to foreign exchange.

The mouth of the ELBE, at the north-ſea, is about thirteen GERMAN miles diſtance; the navigation is difficult, yet, except ſome of the largeſt veſſels, they can unload at the town, the tide coming up about four GERMAN miles above HAMBURG. Its ebb leaves moſt of the canals of the city dry; but there is a good bed of mud for the ſhips.

I have already obſerved, that the manufactures of this place, except that of baking ſugar, and printing calicoes, are very inconſiderable, though the art of dying is well known here. They export quantities of SILESIA linnens from hence under the name of HAMBURG. A great part of this branch of commiſſion-buſineſs is indeed fallen into the hands of the merchants of ALTONA, the HAMBURGERS having injudiciouſly charged a ſmall duty on them, which they have ſince taken off, and made it a free port for the tranſit of all goods: but they cannot recover this buſineſs in the ſame manner as before. There are other branches, of which the HAMBURGERS have been obliged to yield a part to other nations.

tions. The trade of LUBEC, which was ſunk very low, has mended of late years. STETIN, which was hardly known as a trading town, now begins to make ſome figure in commerce; and we find the king of PRUSSIA endeavouring to eſtabliſh EMBDEN as a place of trade. COPENHAGEN, of late years, is improved; and a vaſt trade is eſtabliſhed in St. PETERSBURG, which did not exiſt till this century; but, above all, FRANCE, ſince the queen's war, has made large ſtrides in the advancement of her commercial intereſt. Theſe concurring reaſons muſt neceſſarily diminiſh the trade of HAMBURG.

As mankind increaſe in numbers, at leaſt in EUROPE, together with arts, luxurious indulgences, and the refinements of life; it is natural to preſume that commerce, in general, encreaſes alſo; though it is ſubject to change hands. But nothing, I think, is more demonſtrable than this, that the ſtate which has moſt naval power, ſuppoſing the people have a genius for commerce, and are ſituated advantageouſly for it, muſt have the greateſt portion. Will it be ſurprizing if, in a few ages, war ſhould become entirely, as it already is in a great meaſure, ſubſervient to the ends of trade? Upon this principle it is rather an argument of the virtue and equity of mankind, that ſo inconſiderable a ſtate as HAMBURG ſhould have yet ſo great a trade, than that it is in ſome degree diminiſhed.

As nations grow enlightened, they will forſake their indolence, and go to market, where the commodity is cheapeſt; paſſing by thoſe who are enriched by their former induſtry and ſagacity, in collecting the different productions of the earth; conſequently theſe leſſer ſtates, whoſe conſumption within themſelves is ſmall, will decline in commercial power.

It has been generally imagined, that luxury is a great cauſe of the increaſe of commerce: that it has enlarged the ſcene, and occaſioned an increaſe of ſeveral of the productions of the earth, is beyond diſpute. Hence the uſe of tobacco, ſugar, tea, ſpices, and other commodities, which are of very little real benefit to mankind, and yet are become great articles

of

of commerce all over the world. But theſe have been attended alſo with improvements of eſſential ſervice, particularly that of manufactures, which being now ſpread over the whole earth; the ſkins of beaſts, which were formerly the great article of cloathing, are not worn, except in very cold countries, or as a rich and coſtly dreſs. Theſe have been exchanged for the manufactures of wool, and other materials, much beyond what the animals furniſhed in the ſimple manner of life of our forefathers: ſome of theſe indeed had hardly any cloaths at all. But to come down to the preſent time, FRANCE has now near thirty times the quantity of wollen cloth, to what ſhe manufactured in the beginning of this century [i]. And ENGLAND already ſo far advanced, has made vaſt improvements. In the laſt century calculators valued our wool at two millions, now they reckon near four millions [k]. The ſame wool manufactured is now computed worth twelve millions; whereas it then amounted to eight millions only.

But as things neceſſary, and in their nature good, are become common, and ſupplied in a great profuſion; that which was magnificence, is no longer ſo: numerous improvements however being added, it takes that name again. When theſe improvements are carried to an exceſs beyond what our fortunes, and duties of life will bear, it becomes luxury; and luxury is in its nature ruinous. We ſee even the lower claſſes of mankind have acquired a taſte of many things, not only beyond the ſimplicity of life which nature dictates, but alſo beyond what their circumſtances will bear. Theſe new paſſions craving their object; an equal pace muſt be kept by induſtry, and the productions of the earth. All exceſſes require great labour to ſupport them. The people of a country, who live very high, to uſe a vulgar expreſſion, are apt to light their candle at both ends; that is to ſay, they are apt to conſume too much, and work too little. Hence they are alſo more ſubject to misfortunes, becauſe that will appear as a misfortune under ſuch circumſtances, which otherwiſe would not be regarded. There is a medium; if we paſs beyond it, we prepare the

[i] See page 55. but this remark alludes to LANGUEDOC only.

[k] Near 70,000 packs at 6l.

way for ruin. Luxury and corruption have ever been the deſtruction of ſtates; and nothing can be more plain than this, that there would be little or no corruption, if there was no luxury.

To return to the HAMBURGERS: what has clipt their wings, though not in ſo great a degree as generally imagined, is the neigbourhood of ALTONA, which ſignifies, much too near, as inded it is for their intereſt; having the advantage of ſituation the ſame as HAMBURG; but it has no fortification, nor is the DANISH ſovereignty ſo great a ſecurity of its commerce, as the independency of a HANSE town is to HAMBURG. ALTONA has been long conſidered by the HAMBURGERS as an object of great jealouſy; but there is not, I apprehend, ſo much cauſe to fear, as is ſuggeſted by many.

ALTONA is a large place, but does not partake in the leaſt of the pride of HAMBURG, with regard to its buildings; nor can it afford to pay any thing of conſequence towards the revenues of DENMARK. It is an aſylum for thoſe who fly from the adjacent countries for debt, or worſe crimes: the HAMBURGERS, whoſe fortunes reduce them to this extremity, take refuge there alſo. Except two or three houſes of buſineſs, there is very little appearance of riches or plenty in ALTONA. In oppoſition to HAMBURG it encourages all religions, ſo that there is a medley of the poorer claſſes of mankind, particularly of POLISH JEWS. In the war with SWEDEN in 1713, the town was burnt to the ground, and now appears as new. The HAMBURGERS not daring to riſk their own ſecurity, by opening their gates in the night, when a SWEDISH army was ſo near, and when a ſickneſs prevailed amongſt the inhabitants of ALTONA; many of the latter periſhed as monuments of SWEDISH cruelty.

The continual loſſes ſuffered by the ALGERINE rovers, who thought it their intereſt to decline all accommodation, have been a great obſtruction to the trade of HAMBURG; and the more as they can hardly, with any aſſurance, aſk the aſſiſtance of any ſovereign prince, and particularly a maritime power, who is a competitor in point of commerce. During the laſt war they had ſeveral ſhips on the weſtern ocean, and the MEDITERRANEAN;

RANEAN; but hoſtilities at ſea were no ſooner ended, than they were obliged to alter their meaſures [a].

The 29th of September I took my leave of Mr. J. BOSANQUET, Mr. HANBURY, Mr. THORNTON the deputy governor of the BRITISH company, and the other gentlemen, to whom I am much indebted for their great civility.

CHAP. XLIII.

The author departs from HAMBURG. *A ſhort account of the trade, inhabitants, and dome church of* BREMEN. *He continues his journey through* WESTPHALIA.

THE 30th of September I departed from HAMBURG. The ordinary rout to AMSTERDAM is directly to OSNABRUCK; but my curioſity carried me to to BREMEN, not without ſome intention of going to EMDEN, if the weather had proved favourable. My rout then was to BLANKENESS, two ſhort GERMAN miles from HAMBURG. The road being on the lofty banks of the ELBE, gives a moſt delightful and extenſive view, as well of part of the HANOVERIAN dominions on the weſt, as of the DANISH territories in HOLSTEIN on the eaſt of that river. There is no regular ſtage for poſt horſes to BLANKENESS; the ferry alſo is very ſmall for a wheel carriage, and if a proper ſeaſon is not taken with regard to wind and tide, it may be dangerous. The ruſticity of the DANISH boors is apt to create vexation: it is their cuſtom to ſpend ſome time on the ſhore at a certain game, to determine whoſe fortune it ſhall be to attend the paſſenger. The breadth of the river in this place is about an ENGLISH mile, and near the ſame diſtance, up a creek to CRANTZ, a mean village in the HANOVERIAN dominions, where there is no regular poſt; yet the peaſants

[a] The ALGERINES finding the SPANIARDS meant to make war with them in good earneſt, entered lately into a treaty with the HAMBURGERS, not of friendſhip only, but of commerce alſo. This the SPANIARDS highly reſented, and put the HAMBURGERS under neceſſity of annulling that treaty, or of being excluded from their trade with SPAIN. Being reduced to this alternative they have choſen the former.

are obliged to find horſes for paſſengers at ſtated rates. CRANTZ, though ſo mean a place, is extended above two ENGLISH miles, built on the top of a high bank, intended to reſiſt the overflowing of the ELBE, which ſometimes happens. A ſmall branch of this river runs to BUXTEHUDE, the next ſtage, which is about a GERMAN mile and a half: the country abounds in meadow and corn lands.

October the 1ſt, I purſued my journey to CLOSTER-SEVEN, four long GERMAN miles, the road but indifferent; the proſpect is moſtly of woods and heath; the country is but thinly inhabited, and has not much corn land or cattle. From thence to OTTERSBERG is three GERMAN miles: here I found two companies of HANOVERIAN ſoldiers quartered. The ſoil hereabouts is infertile, being chiefly moraſs. From thence to BREMEN is three GERMAN miles, through a ſandy country. The land towards BREMEN is more improved, but without any great face of fertility. We paſſed two turnpikes, and within an ENGLISH mile of BREMEN I obſerved three ſtones which are erected on the ſide of the road, with the arms of the BRITISH crown, denoting the confines of the HANOVERIAN dominion.

BREMEN is ſituated on a plain on both ſides of the river WESER, over which it has a bridge. The dutchy in which it ſtands formerly belonged to the SWEDES, but being conquered by the DANES, was by them ſold to the elector of HANOVER in 1716; yet there is only a ſmall quarter of the town, in which ſtands the dome church, ſubject to that electorate. The reſt, with its territories, is free under its own laws and magiſtrates, who are compoſed of four burgo-maſters and twenty four ſenators, choſen out of the citizens who profeſs CALVINISM: this is the eſtabliſhed religion, and they have five churches for the citizens of that perſwaſion.

The number of inhabitants are computed at 30,000, who appear to live in comfortable circumſtances. The greateſt part of the ſtreets are narrow: the ſhops are well ſtocked with merchandize, and they have many houſes of good appearance. They have a town houſe, an exchange, and waterworks, by which the city is ſupplied from the river. One would imagine that the people are extremely pious, SOLI DEO GLO-

RIA

RIA being in large characters over their doors and windows, within doors and without.

In the market-place they ſhew the figure of a man in armour, who, as the people pretend, ſaved the city when it was in the utmoſt danger from the SWEDES. They call it a ROWLAND, or ROYLAND, from the name of a general who died in ITALY in the ſervice of the emperor, by whom this was made a free city. This general was of a remarkable ſtature; and the figure ſerves to keep up a ſenſe of freedom, though under the burleſque form of a giant of about fourteen feet high.

But nothing is ſo remarkable in this place, as the great dome, where their worſhip is performed after the LUTHERAN manner: the people of this perſwaſion bearing a great proportion to thoſe of the eſtabliſhed reformed church. It is an antient building in the gothic manner, reputed to be about 600 years old. There is a vault under it, in which are the bodies of ſeveral perſons, ſaid to be depoſited there above one hundred and fifty years ago, and firſt diſcovered about forty years ſince to be entire, as they yet remain. Theſe bodies lye in the vault as one common grave; the linnen in which they are dreſt is light as tinder: their ſkins look black and parched, but their features diſtinguiſhable; they are extremely light, but the coheſion of the parts entire. The vault to appearance has nothing extraordinary, except that the air ſeems to be temperate, and the walls perfectly dry. It is about ſix feet below the ſurface of the earth, and vaulted eight or nine feet high. A dead cat, which has been accidentally thrown in through the window, has had the ſame fortune as the human bodies. They will not ſuffer the vault to be cleanſed, from an idle opinion that it may loſe its virtue. Several have offered conſiderable ſums to have their bodies depoſited there, which the prieſts object to, alledging the ſentence of GOD, that man ſhall return to duſt; though it is more probable the magiſtrates do not chuſe to indulge this idle vanity, as the LUTHERAN is not the eſtabliſhed church.

BREMEN, ſtanding on the WESER but twelve GERMAN miles from the ſea, would be as advantageouſly ſituated for trade as HAMBURG, but

but that ſhips of burthen cannot come within two miles of the town, as there is often not above four feet water. This deficiency is ſupplied by boats, and does not hinder their building large fly boats at the town. Notwithſtanding the neighbourhood of HAMBURG, the trade here is conſiderable: they import a great quantity of ſugar from FRANCE; of the ENGLISH they take tobacco, and other WEST INDIA commodities, and alſo ſome of their manufactures. This city trades with HANOVER, SAXONY, BOHEMIA, &c. from whom they receive corn, linnen, timber and minerals. They have freſh fiſh in plenty in ſome ſeaſons, and are ſaid to dreſs leather well.

Exceeding heavy rains having fallen, and the ſeaſon becoming cold, I determined to make the beſt of my way to AMSTERDAM. From BREMEN is a long cauſeway, the country being marſhy, and ſoon covered with water. About a mile from the town we re-entered the HANOVERIAN dominions; the ſoil near the road is moſtly ſandy or heath to WILDESHUSEN, which is three very long GERMAN miles: this is a principal town, and the reſidence of the great bailiff of the diſtrict, of which there are about twenty five in the HANOVERIAN dominions. Mr. HEINEBER the bailiff's ſon, who is a young man of great virtue, accompliſhments, and excellent parts [a], did me the favour of a viſit, and invited me to his father's houſe, which gave me an occaſion of paying my reſpects to the bailiff.

The 2d I travelled on to KLOPPENBERG, three long GERMAN miles, the road very ſandy. This is a mean town in the dominion of the biſhop of MUNSTER, elector of COLOGN; but the country round it is pleaſant, being compoſed of arable and meadow lands, bordered by groves and plantations.

The 3d I went on to LOENNINGEN; the diſtance is nominally two GERMAN miles, but here they ſeem to be double, and the peaſants are paid near twice the common price, with this inconvenience, that inſtead of one poſtilion I was obliged to take two peaſants for four horſes. It has

[a] Now preceptor for the GERMAN language and hiſtory to the young princes.

ſome-

ſometimes been the fortune of travellers in this country, to have as many men to attend them, as horſes to draw their vehicle.

LOENNINGEN is a mean dirty place, but the country near it pleaſant and fertile. The government of theſe eccleſiaſtical princes does not ſeem to eſtabliſh charity or politeneſs; at leaſt I found the people inſolent and given to extortion.

From thence to HASSELUNE is accounted two GERMAN miles; the country is very ſandy. This is a more agreeable town, and has a ſmall garriſon of troops belonging to the elector of COLOGN. Poverty ſeemed to prevail here; but ſuperſtition ſtill more, in conſequence of that eccleſiaſtical power which had erected crucifixes almoſt on every hillock.

The next town is LINGEN, at the diſtance of two long GERMAN miles; the road to it is ſandy, but the adjacent country pleaſant. This place, which is in the circle of WESTPHALIA, is ſubject to the king of PRUSSIA: it ſtands on the river EMS, and has a fortification of ſome ſmall conſideration. The cleanneſs, breadth, and good pavement of its ſtreets, and regular built houſes, give one the more ſtriking idea of that good order for which the PRUSSIANS are ſo much diſtinguiſhed. This town indeed formerly belonged to king WILLIAM III. and devolved to the houſe of BRANDENBURG on his death. It partakes much of DUTCH œconomy: here the exorbitant price of near a ducat a GERMAN mile for horſes was firſt charged to me.

CHAP. XLIV.

Obſervations at ALMELLO, DAVENTER, *&c. Reflections on the produce of tobacco. A ſhort account of* AMERSFORT *and* NAARDEN.

THE 4th of October I advanced two long GERMAN miles, towards the dominions of the UNITED PROVINCES, and arrived at NORTHORN, where I obſerved the women appear to be almoſt blinded with the ſmoak ariſing from the turf, which they have here in great abundance: Moſt

Moſt of the country over which I travelled from LOENNINGEN produces nothing elſe.

It was now the ſeaſon in which the STATES order the rates of poſt horſes to be increaſed about one third part more than it is from April to September: I was obliged to pay 18 gilders to ALMELLO, which is computed four GERMAN miles; but, in conſideration of the roads, they gave me ſix horſes. The little towns I now paſſed through began to exhibit that cleanlineſs for which the HOLLANDERS are ſo much diſtinguiſhed. The marriages of this country are performed with a humorous ſolemnity: I obſerved pillars and feſtoons of verdure, adorned with garlands and flowers, which are prepared for the decoration of a nuptial feaſt at the houſes of the parties.

The heaths reſerved for the production of turf on this ſide of the country, are much larger than is generally imagined, conſidering the ſmall extent of the dominion of the UNITED PROVINCES; but except theſe the hand of induſtry appears in a very remarkable degree; the incloſure of meadows, corn land and kitchen-gardens, plantation of trees and banks, which are thrown up for roads, at the ſame time that they demonſtrate the labour of the peaſant, afford an agreeable proſpect. Moſt of their cows are red, and theſe are the chief riches of this part of the country, by the great quantity of butter and cheeſe which they produce, and in this ſeaſon they feed them on an herb they call SPERSEN, which grows ſix or eight inches high.

ALMELLO is a neat town in the province of OVERYSSEL, where there is a manufactory of fine holland: the greateſt part of what we commonly call by this name is made in SILESIA, and only bleached in the UNITED PROVINCES. The preference which I thought due to the manufactures of my own country, prevented my making any purchaſe in ALMELLO. The improvements we have made both in SCOTLAND and IRELAND, are ſuch as will, I hope, in a ſmall number of years, gratify the moſt luxurious, as well as afford a quantity for a conſiderable exportation to foreign markets.

The

The 5th I ſet out for DAVENTER; the road for the moſt part is through marſhes and heath, with a ridge of hills to the north. HASLEN appears to the ſouth weſt about two ENGLISH miles from the common road; ſome make it their way, though it is half a league about. They generally reckon here by the hours, as in ASIA, and compute two hours to a GERMAN mile; this computation is hardly too much when the roads are bad. From NORTHORN to DAVENTER they compute four GERMAN miles.

DAVENTER is a large city in the province of OVERYSSEL, formerly a hanſe town, but now ſubject to the ſtates. It ſtands on the river YSSEL, which bears veſſels of burthen. There is a large bridge of wood over it, for the paſſage of which they pay a heavy toll. This river runs into the ZUYDER ſea. The town is well fortified, and has a ſtrong garriſon; the ſtreets and houſes are very neat, and the ſhops well ſupplied with manufactures and other neceſſaries. It has a pretty large inland trade, but no manufactures.

From hence is a regular poſt, four GERMAN miles to VOORTHUSEN; the ſoil of the country is various; near the midway is LOO, a famous ſeat of the prince of ORANGE. VOORTHUSEN is a village of very little note; nor has the country an agreeable aſpect. The 6th, I proceeded to AMERSFORT, two GERMAN miles, the firſt of which is through a ſandy country, and one ſees but little cultivated land, or appearance of rich inhabitants; but towards OUVELACH the country appears worthy the reputation it has in the world. There are large plantations of tobacco; for the production of which the land is thrown up into ridges of about two feet high. The conſumption of this article in the UNITED PROVINCES is very conſiderable, and by ſome pretended to be neceſſary in ſo moiſt a climate. It may be queſtioned however whether the lives of the inhabitants are prolonged by it; or whether the ſame labour and expence which is employed about it, would not produce proviſion for the ſupport of life more effectually, and for greater numbers of people: for it ſeems inconſiſtent with reaſon that ſo many thouſands, I might ſay

millions of people in the different quarters of the world, ſhould be employed in cultivating this herb, whilſt ſuch multitudes are ſuffering diſtreſs for want of the common proviſions of life.

AMERSFORT is an antient and conſiderable town in the province of UTRECHT, on the ſmall river EEMS, which runs to the ZUYDER ſea. There is a very large church, and an excellent ſet of chimes, for which the UNITED PROVINCES are very remarkable; thoſe of this town play every hour on market days from ten till twelve in the morning. This affords a cheap and agreeable amuſement to the common people, and ſome pleaſure to thoſe in higher life who delight in muſic. I was ſtruck with the neatneſs and cleanneſs of the ſtreets and houſes; but the manners of the people are not equally delicate: a certain ruſticity prevails, which is ſometimes ſhewn in an apparent contempt of ſtrangers. This town is chiefly ſupported by huſbandry, and has a conſiderable trade in tobacco of its own growth. I obſerved many of the people wear wooden ſhoes, which are indeed beſt calculated for their brick floors, and inceſſant waſhing.

From AMERSFORT I departed for NAARDEN, which is about two GERMAN miles diſtant; the turnpikes are very numerous, where paſſengers pay regularly, though there is no fence in many places. About two ENGLISH miles from AMERSFORT is SOESDYKE, a palace belonging to the prince of ORANGE, which has a park ſaid to be near eight ENGLISH miles in circumference. Being impatient to get early to AMSTERDAM, I declined viſiting UTRECHT, remarkable for that treaty which has blotted the annals of ENGLAND, and aggrandized the houſe of BOURBON, as appeared too plain in the late war. UTRECHT is ſaid to be one of the moſt agreeable places, and as worthy the attention of a traveller as any in the UNITED PROVINCES.

The road to NAARDEN is pleaſant, abounding in regular plantations of trees; and the country is well cultivated and inhabited. NAARDEN is a boundary of the province of HOLLAND, at a ſmall diſtance from the ZUYDER ſea: the fortification is conſiderable, being partly compoſed of a broad double

double mote filled from the ſea, which has often made inroads upon it. In antient wars it was often ſacked, and in 1486 reduced to aſhes by fire. Here alſo the SPANIARDS maſſacred the inhabitants upon the occaſion of the revolt of the UNITED PROVINCES. In 1672 it was taken by the FRENCH, but ſoon retaken by the prince of ORANGE.

From NAARDEN to AMSTERDAM is reckoned two GERMAN miles; the whole country conſiſts of paſture lands and gardens, below the ſurface of the ſea, if one may judge from the appearances of the bodies of ſhips on the water. The road on the banks of the canals is made with great coſt, ſo that there are no leſs than ſeven tolls, at which I paid three guilders. The avenue to AMSTERDAM is a cauſeway, on the ſides of which, near the city, are ſmall villages and gardens belonging to the citizens, which ſerve to beautify the face of this artificial country. The gates of AMSTERDAM are ſhut at ſix in the evening, but there is admittance till ten, for a toll of one ſtiver each perſon. According to the ordinary computation I had travelled only forty one GERMAN miles and a half from HAMBURG. By the way of OSNABRUCK it is reckoned fifty two GERMAN miles, but the difference is rather in the computation of the miles than the real diſtance.

CHAP. XLV.

Reflections on the commercial genius of the DUTCH. *A brief deſcription of* AMSTERDAM. *Of the dykes in* HOLLAND. *Of the taxes and revenues of the* UNITED PROVINCES *compared with thoſe of* GREAT BRITAIN.

THE correſpondency which I had as a merchant, procured me acquaintances in AMSTERDAM, of the want of which, foreigners, who are not intereſted in commerce, generally complain. Indeed of all the great cities which I have yet ſeen, this ſeems to afford the leaſt entertainment, to thoſe whoſe heads and hearts are not intirely turned to

pecuniary acquiſitions: here every moment ſeems to be filled up in the purſuit of trade, with all its various and extended connections. The people have no time to complain of a bad climate, bad weather, or the want of health: they have hardly leiſure to perform the common duties of hoſpitality and benevolence.

The obſervation I made of the inhabitants of AMSTERDAM, correſponds exactly with what has been often remarked, that thoſe diſorders of the mind, particularly that of being ſeldom contented for any length of time, which ſeem to be the more peculiar affliction of my own country, where the people are more refined in manners and ſentiments, are hardly known in this city, verifying the maxim, that the turn of men's minds conſtitutes their felicity, much more than their fortunes or external circumſtances.

In alluſion to this ſubject, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE obſerves, "This is "a diſeaſe too refined for this country and people; who are well, when "they are not ill, and pleaſed when they are not troubled; are content "becauſe they think little of it; and ſeek their happineſs in the com-"mon eaſe and commodities of life, or the increaſe of riches; not amu-"ſing themſelves with the more ſpeculative contrivance of paſſion, or "refinements of pleaſure."

The principal houſes of buſineſs in this great metropolis of the NETHERLANDS, among ſeveral others, are thoſe of meſſieurs HOPES, meſſieurs CLIFFORDS, and meſſieurs MUILMANS, with whom I had particular connections, and from whom I received great marks of hoſpitality and politneſs. Mr. THOMAS HOPE did me the favour of a viſit immediately on my arrival. This gentleman is no leſs diſtinguiſhed for the great ſkill and induſtry, and extenſive buſineſs by which he has acquired a large fortune, than for his ingenuouſneſs and abilities, which ſet him at the head of the WEST INDIA company, as the deputy of the prince of ORANGE. Meſſieurs CLIFFORDS, who are related to the noble family of that name in ENGLAND, have, by an extenſive correſpondency through a long ſeries of years, acquired a very conſiderable fortune; and for their probity

probity and politeneſs are much reſpected by all who have any connexion with them. Meſſieurs MUILMANS are well known in LONDON, from the reſidence of two of the brothers, who are very eminent merchants in that city. Their father and brothers in AMSTERDAM are alſo diſtinguiſhed for their wealth, and for the ſhare they have in the government of the UNITED PROVINCES.

This wonderful city of AMSTERDAM, as well as many other towns of the NETHERLANDS, is certainly a work of art and labour, not inferior to the greateſt monuments of human induſtry in paſt ages. It is about 220 ENGLISH miles from LONDON: its proper name as derived from the river AMSTEL, is AMSTELDAM, i. e. the dam of the AMSTEL, which is the name generally given to it in authentic records. From its earlieſt beginning they reckon about 400 years; and 270 from its being incloſed with walls. It was not till the year 1570, that the DUTCH began to lay the foundation of their prodigious riches and naval ſtrength. About 20 years before this time they were provoked by the oppreſſive meaſures of ROMISH bigotry, to ſhake off the SPANISH yoke, and adopt the doctrine of CALVIN. The SPANIARDS exerted themſelves, upon this occaſion, upon religious, as well as political principles; but it was not in their power to render that confederacy abortive, which at length united the ſeven provinces, and, forming a powerful republic, gave a juſt occaſion to this motto; "Concordia res parvæ creſcunt."

About the year 1600, the love of liberty and gain occaſioned ſuch a conflux of people, that the walls of the city were extended; ſince that time they have had further enlargements, the whole now making about three leagues in circumference. Her greateſt ſtrength is in the difficulty of acceſs both by ſea and land; yet have not the numerous ſholes, which render the entrance of the TEXEL ſo difficult, obſtructed the progreſs of her commerce. One ſtriking proof of œconomy is very obvious, even in the fortifications of this city; for the baſtions, which are very numerous, have each a windmill on them.

The

The ſtreets are, for the moſt part, extremely clean; but except thoſe which have canals, much too narrow for beauty or convenience. They are rendered the leſs diſagreeable, as the hired coaches are ſet on ſledges, drawn by one horſe, which do not greatly incommode paſſengers. Merchandize is alſo drawn on ſledges. Theſe are not only the moſt convenient vehicles for the inhabitants, and their trade, but alſo calculated to preſerve their houſes, which being built on piles, might, in a length of time, be much damaged in their foundations by means of a great number of wheel-carriages. The coaches of gentlemen are however for the moſt part ſet on wheels; but they pay a conſiderable tax for this liberty. The principal ſtreets, or rather quays of the canals are agreeable, particularly the KEYZARGRAFT and HEEREGRAFT, which are planted on each ſide with trees; but the canals ſometimes throw up a very offenſive ſtench. The people are not at a loſs how to account for this inconveniency: ſomething is owing to nature; but it is apparent, that the diſcipline of the ſtate is relaxed by the canals not being kept ſo clean as the regulations require: theſe canals, in ſome parts, are of a conſiderable breadth.

The houſes in AMSTERDAM are rather neat than elegant, or commodious: the nature of the climate renders it neceſſary to waſh them often; but the greateſt part of the people carry their cleanlineſs in this way ſo far, as hardly to afford themſelves time for the neceſſary care of their perſons. The ſame humour prevails amongſt them, as with ſome of middling fortunes in ENGLAND; they ſhut themſelves out of their own houſes, by keeping the moſt uſeful and agreeable apartment for the entertainment of their friends on particular occaſions, that is, for vanity.

The entrance of their houſes is generally by ſtairs four or five feet from the ground, and the paſſage into the rooms, which run very deep, is floored and panneled with marble, which has an air of grandeur in miniature. They have much neat, and ſome rich furniture; but it does not ſeem to be the effect of a luxurious and expenſive taſte, ſo much as the obſervance of an antient cuſtom of neatneſs and elegance. At the

worſt

worſt it may plead its being leſs dangerous to a ſtate, than the conſtant expence of a table, equipage or amuſement; and theſe are not countenanced in AMSTERDAM in any remarkable degree.

This city is generally eſteemed one third as populous as LONDON and PARIS. They reckon within the walls, twenty-ſix thouſand five hundred houſes, and about two hundred and forty thouſand inhabitants: the ſuburbs, though ſmall, muſt add to this number.

The grand rendezvous of the merchants of this metropolis, as in other great trading cities, is the exchange, which was finiſhed in 1613. The interior part is 250 feet long, and 140 broad; but much inferior in architecture and embelliſhment to that of LONDON. It is ſupported by forty-ſix pillars, which are marked with numbers; and the merchants take their ſtands near particular pillars, to be found the more eaſily. The city of AMSTERDAM is guarded by a militia, as the ſafeſt and moſt proper defence of their wealth and liberty; theſe are all burghers, and conſequently no objects of jealouſy, nor do they cauſe any conſiderable expence.

With regard to the ſeveral religions of the inhabitants; here is great freedom, ſo long as the prieſts avoid diſturbing the repoſe of the ſtate. The eſtabliſhed faith is that of CALVIN, for which there are eleven churches for the DUTCH, one for the ENGLISH, two for the GERMANS, and two for the FRENCH. The ROMAN catholics are ſaid to have near thirty places of worſhip, of which ſome are chapels, and others, apartments in houſes fitted for that purpoſe. Beſides theſe, there are LUTHERANS and ANABAPTISTS: the JEWS alſo are in no ſmall number, and have their ſynagogues as in LONDON. But of all theſe different religions, none but the CALVINISTS are allowed the uſe of bells. The ſtates very cautiouſly preſerve their ſupremacy, by invalidating all marriages not made according to the rites of the eſtabliſhed church, unleſs the parties firſt engage themſelves in form before the civil magiſtrate; and when that is done, they may perform the ceremonies of their reſpective religions as they think proper.

Nothing

Nothing adds more to the beauty of this city, as well as of the country in general, than the plantations of trees for the public uſe and pleaſure; an inclination which ſeems to prevail very much, and is highly worthy of imitation. In ENGLAND things of this ſort are often done; but more for private gratification, than the general delight of the people; ſo that the lower claſſes are the more apt to crowd to gardens, where they pay their money, waſte their time, and ſometimes debauch themſelves with exceſſes. We may obſerve however, to the honour of GREAT BRITAIN, that within theſe thirty years, great improvements have been made in many parts of the kingdom: works of this nature for the public recreation [d], are certainly worthy of the beſt citizens, the moſt zealous patriots, and greateſt princes.

The DUTCH are diſtinguiſhed for the number and oeconomy of their uſeful charities, which ſeem to exceed thoſe of ENGLAND; not in extent; for, in beneficence, the ENGLISH have hardly any bounds, as if they meant in good earneſt to "cover a multitude of ſins; but in regard to diſcipline and wholeſome ſeverity, we have not ſupported it ſo well as the DUTCH, who make all their poor perform ſome uſeful labour. It does not indeed ſeem poſſible to engage the loweſt ſort of the people, of any nation, to work from a mere ſenſe of duty. If they are left to their choice, or the materials of labour withheld from them, can it be expected they will work? But if the make and conſtitution of man renders labour neceſſary to his ſupport; I preſume it follows, that he who CAN work, and WILL not, ſhould not have food GIVEN him. Charities founded on principles not conſiſtent with this rule, inſtead of drawing down bleſſings, produce calamities, as is often experienced.

With regard to their dykes, the DUTCH have made vaſt improvements ſince the year when the worms made great havock in their piles: they now line many of their ſhores with very large ſtones, and have carried

[d] For inſtance, St. JAMES's park contributes greatly to the health and pleaſure of the inhabitants of LONDON.

this

this work on with great ſucceſs. I obſerved the dyke[b] to the ZUYDER-SEA is raiſed about ſixteen feet perpendicular, and goes off upon an eaſy decline. The ſtones are regularly laid, and form an excellent defence againſt the water. They bring theſe ſtones from NORWAY: the government pays ſeven guilders[c] a ton for any quantity that is brought; ſo that when maſters have no better employment for their veſſels, they make a voyage to NORWAY for this purpoſe. The work intended to be compleated in this manner, is of ſuch extent, as may yet require the labour of eight or ten years: it will, to all appearance, be not only a great ſaving, but alſo a ſecurity to the ſtate. The dykes towards the north ſea are ſaid to be more lofty, and not to be ſupported but with piles at a great expence.

Even a dreadful vulcano cannot render the ſituation of the neighbouring inhabitants ſo precarious, as that of the DUTCH from the nature of their country. By great ſkill and induſtry they have indeed given laws to the ocean; but it has, upon ſome occaſions, paſt its bounds, and exhibited a lively picture of that deluge, in which the whole race of mankind was once involved, a ſingle family excepted. In 1530 a great part of ZEALAND was overflown: in 1568 no leſs than ſeventy-two villages on the coaſts of HOLLAND and FRIEZLAND were ſwallowed up, and near twenty thouſand people periſhed. Thoſe who eſcaped on trees and riſing grounds, after ſuffering much with hunger, were relieved by the care of the magiſtrates. The inundation of November 1665, drove in the ſea with violence hardly to be conceived: it broke down the dyke of MUYDENBERG, and laid the whole country round NAARDEN, and many places in the province of UTRECHT under water. The dyke between AMSTERDAM and HAERLEM was alſo broke, and many others, too tedious to enumerate. Notwithſtanding theſe great miſchiefs, the ſtorms no ſooner ceaſed, than the induſtry of the inhabitants repaired, in a great meaſure, the havock created by them.

[b] As this word in ENGLISH ſignifies a very different thing from the ſenſe in which it is uſed here, it may eaſily deceive thoſe who have not ſeen the dykes in HOLLAND; the DUTCH call it diik, which properly ſignifies a bank.

[c] Thirteen ſhillings.

The accidents which are common to a flat country in being overflowed with water at certain ſeaſons of the year, do not ſeem to be much regarded here, as proviſion is made againſt them by houſing their cattle. Theſe alſo render their meadow-lands the more fertile; and when the waters are frozen, which generally happens in the winter ſeaſon, it furniſhes them the amuſement of ſkeiting. What contributes alſo to the ſafety of this country is, that they can lay it under water when they pleaſe; yet does not this prevent the terrors of the people in regard to FRENCH armies, much leſs render it healthy or agreeable.

The province of HOLLAND is ſaid to pay half the tax of the whole ſeven, and AMSTERDAM half[d] of the province of HOLLAND; from whence one muſt conclude, that there are immenſe riches in AMSTERDAM, or no great wealth in the ſeven provinces. The revenues of AMSTERDAM are reported to be a million ſterling; and conſequently the whole muſt be four millions; which, I apprehend, greatly exceeds the reality, or it is meant only in time of war. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE eſtimates their ordinary revenues in his time at twenty-one millions of guilders[e]; but he ſays the revenues of the province of HOLLAND, including AMSTERDAM, were REPORTED to be one million ſix hundred thouſand pounds, which brings the whole to three millions two hundred thouſand pounds: moſt calculators have made it three millions; but as things are circumſtanced at preſent, we muſt not, I think, compute it above two millions of ENGLISH money.

In 1665 they raiſed 40 millions of guilders[f], and of theſe, the province of HOLLAND only, paid twenty-two millions; which is nearly correſpondent with the account they now give of the proportion this province bears to all the others, as already mentioned.

It may be worth the enquiry of the curious, how vaſtly the taxes in the UNITED PROVINCES exceed thoſe of GREAT BRITAIN, in proportion to the number of inhabitants. They generally calculate two millions[g] of

[d] Some call it three-eighths; but I believe half is neareſt the truth. [e] 1,920,000l [f] 3,820,000 l.

[g] The DUTCH ſay there are not above 80,000 inhabitants in all ZEALAND and a million in HOLLAND; ſo that the other five PROVINCES have 920,000.

people

people in the UNITED PROVINCES; and two millions at the loweſt computation are annually paid in taxes: now as we compute eight millions of people, if we were to pay in proportion, our taxes ſhould be eight millions; but I believe they are not ſix. The UNITED PROVINCES are reckoned to contain only 7500 ſquare miles; whereas ENGLAND has 49,450 ſquare miles; conſequently theſe PROVINCES are ſix times as populous as ENGLAND. How induſtry flouriſhes among them is apparent, even if they pay but two millions; ſince conſidering the goodneſs, and extent of our country, and the barrenneſs of theirs, we may ſuppoſe ourſelves capable of paying ſix times as much in taxes as they; whereas we pay but three times, as above-mentioned. The truth is, they acquire riches by the ſea in a double capacity, that is, by commerce and fiſhery; and we may conclude, from this general view, of what great conſequence their fiſhing is to them, of which I ſhall make further mention in its place.

CHAP. XLVI.

An account of the trade of the UNITED PROVINCES. *A ſhort deſcription of the ſtadt-houſe. Obſervations on the bank of* AMSTERDAM, *compared with that of* LONDON.

FROM the conſideration of the revenues of theſe PROVINCES, the moſt familiar tranſition is to their trade; and here we find numerous cauſes coinciding to raiſe the commerce of this country to ſo prodigious a height. The original of this is ſo familiar to moſt perſons, as to need very little animadverſion. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE mentions the ſubject in theſe terms: "HOLLAND has not grown rich by any native commodities, but by force of induſtry, by improvement and manufacture of all foreign growths, by being the general magazine of EUROPE, and furniſhing all parts with whatever the market wants, or invites, and by their ſeamen being, as they have properly been called, the common carriers of the world."

The trade of this city was raiſed chiefly on the ruins of ANTWERP, once the miſtreſs of the commercial world, till the fiery zeal of prieſts, and the inſolence

ſolence of military authority, trampled equally upon the laws of juſtice and humanity; and, laſtly, upon commerce, the ſupport of nations. Towards the cloſe of the 16th century, the PORTUGUEZE alſo, from being the greateſt traders to the EAST, their commerce began to decline; which gave the more room to this new colony of merchants, who had many of the requiſites to carry trade to its higheſt pitch, though their country does not produce one ſingle material for building ſhips.

The ſame reaſons which I have aſſigned for the decline of the trade of HAMBURG, may alſo be given for the preſent diminution of the commerce of the UNITED PROVINCES; for in proportion to the flow in ſome countries, it is likely to ebb in others. But to theſe reaſons we may alſo add, that the increaſe of riches in the UNITED PROVINCES has contributed to a corruption of manners among the people, and ſlackened the reins of that diſcipline by which they acquired their wealth. According to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, the DUTCH had but little foreign trade, except that to the INDIES, till 1670; and, in few years after this time, the ſame author obſerves, that they began to indulge in an expenſive way of life, which made their rulers think, that ſumptuary laws were neceſſary.

But to conſider things as they yet ſtand; AMSTERDAM is a prodigious magazine of timber, corn, wine, and many other commodities of foreign EUROPEAN production. The inhabitants excel in dying, ſugar-baking, bleaching of linnen and wax, manufacturing of paper and ſail-cloth, with no inconſiderable quantity of ſilk and wool. Their whale-fiſhery generally produces great riches, and their EAST-INDIA trade is of the higheſt importance to them both in EUROPE and ASIA: the article of ſpices only is a mine of gold, which they have preſerved with more care and aſſiduity, than if it had been really ſuch. Here are alſo great repoſitories of gold and ſilver, precious ſtones and choice drugs, from different parts of the world.

In regard to the balance of trade between GREAT BRITAIN and the UNITED PROVINCES, the linnens, flax, ſail-cloth, tiles, juniper-berries, &c. which this nation takes of the DUTCH, much exceed in value the

the lead, tin, tobacco and coals, which they take of the BRITISH ſubjects.

I muſt not forget that their herring fiſhery is a ſource of riches, as it employs ſo great a number of hands [b]. Perſons of every age and denomination delight in this ſort of food: there is hardly a family in the UNITED PROVINCES but conſumes a barrel. The quantities which they ſend to foreign markets and convert into money, is alſo an object of ſome conſequence: in whatever light we conſider this fiſhery, it is of the greateſt value to them. One would imagine that the happy ſituation of the BRITISH ſubjects rendered this trade unneceſſary; at leaſt I do not find that they ever did enjoy it in any conſiderable degree. King JAMES I. had this buſineſs under conſideration, as appears by the embaſſador CARLTON's letter, dated February 1618, from the HAGUE, which gives us an idea how things were circumſtanced at that time. As the BRITISH nation is now making freſh endeavours to eſtabliſh this fiſhery, I will venture to inſert the following ſhort extract of the letter above-mentioned, viz.

"I find likewiſe in the manner of proceeding, that treating by way of "propoſition here, nothing can be expected but their wonted dilatory and "evaſive anſwers; their manner being to refer ſuch propoſitions from "the STATES GENERAL to the STATES OF HOLLAND. The STATES "OF HOLLAND take advice of a certain council reſiding at DELFT, "which they call the COUNCIL OF FISHERY. From them ſuch an an-"ſwer commonly comes, as may be expected from ſuch an oracle. The "way therefore (under correction) to effect your majeſty's intent, is to "begin with the fiſhers themſelves, by publiſhing againſt the time of their "going out, your reſolution at what diſtance you will permit them to "fiſh, whereby they will have recourſe to their COUNCIL OF FISHERY; "that council to the STATES OF HOLLAND, and thoſe of HOLLAND to

[b] In 1601 they had 1500 buſſes, of twenty five to thirty tuns, with a great number of ſmall veſſels. In 1618 it was repreſented to king JAMES, that the DUTCH employed 3000 ſhips and boats, and 15,000 men in this fiſhery. Their barrels uſually weigh three hundred weight, containing each about 1000 herrings. It is alſo worth obſerving, that the FRENCH, of late years, have made a prodigious progreſs in the herring-fiſhery near the ENGLISH coaſt.

"the

"the STATES GENERAL, who then, in place of being ſought unto, "will, for contentment of their ſubjects, ſeek unto your majeſty."

In the time of king CHARLES II. we alſo find great reſentments of the conduct of the DUTCH towards the ENGLISH nation; the latter complaining at the ſame time of their own indolence with regard to the herring fiſhery. The learned SELDEN maintained the argument of our excluſive right to fiſh, in a treatiſe intitled, MARE CLAUSUM; whilſt GROTIUS, in behalf of the DUTCH, pleads for a MARE LIBERUM: which of the two is right, is not my buſineſs at preſent to enquire.

It was long imagined that the BRITISH nation declined all attempts on this fiſhery from a particular deſire of ſhewing the higheſt regard to her good friends and allies the DUTCH; but whatever THEIR virtues are, or OUR ſingular obligations to them, they muſt be ſenſible either of our folly in ſubmitting, our incapacity of hindering, or our juſtice in acquieſcing. The HOLLANDERS depend ſo much on fiſh for their ſupport, that it would ſeem a ſyſtem of politics grating to humanity, to uſe the means which providence has put in our hands, to prevent their drawing ſuch ſupplies from the ſea; but we are alſo led by no leſs a motive than ſelf-preſervation, and the duty we owe to our own poor, to provide for the means of their ſupport.

It is doubted by ſome, whether the erection of workhouſes, without finding NEW WORK for the poor, will fully anſwer the purpoſes of the nation; but nothing can be more evident than that the fiſhery, ſuppoſing it ſucceeds, will produce an increaſe in our ſhipping, an additional manufactory in nets, and in general an employment entirely new, and of ſuch an extent, as may in time take in a great number of the poor of GREAT BRITAIN, men, women and children, old and young; for they can all perform ſome part or other. It ought to be preſumed that the gentlemen who have undertaken the care of this fiſhery, will endeavour to ſurprize the nation with the ſucceſs, anſwer the good intention of the legiſlature, and convince the world that conſtancy and perſeverance can do any thing except miracles. We ſhould likewiſe conſider, that this fiſhery,

The Town house at Amsterdam.

fiſhery, which is properly BRITISH, OUGHT to be employed to the advantage of GREAT BRITAIN, if it is practicable, as I preſume it is. It is at leaſt well deſerving the attention ſhewn it, and the event can be known only by time. There ſeems to be no contradiction in the nature of the thing why it ſhould not do; and if we determine under providence that it ſhall ſucceed, more than half the event is ſecured.

To return to what more immediately concerns the DUTCH; paſſing over the Y [a] to SARDAM [b], I had an opportunity of obſerving what vaſt labour they execute by means of windmills. Here they ſaw timber at a very eaſy rate [c], which occaſions their building ſhips cheaper than in other parts. They grind woods, and other materials for dyeing, make gunpowder, and paper, of which here are the beſt manufactories of any in HOLLAND. Theſe mills are employed in many other uſes. This work is performed by very few hands, and the women are employed as well as the men; which gives one a ſtrong idea of that induſtry and œconomy from whence the riches of the UNITED PROVINCES ariſe. There are other ſcenes where the people are not leſs active. Many of theſe windmills coſt conſiderable ſums of money, the foundation of them being made in a very expenſive manner, as the ground is little better than a marſh.

Of all the public buildings in AMSTERDAM, either for uſe or ornament, the town houſe [d] is the moſt diſtinguiſhed: the foundations of it were laid in 1648, and in ſeven years the building was ſo far advanced, that the magiſtrates took their ſeats in it. The LATIN inſcription on a black marble pedeſtal, the repreſentation of which conſtitutes part of the ſubject of a relievo, is to this purpoſe:

"The UNITED PROVINCES of the LOW COUNTRIES, after having "bravely ſupported a bloody war by ſea and land in every region of the "earth, againſt the three PHILIPS, moſt powerful kings of SPAIN,

[a] Called alſo the YE, and by ſome the YA, about five miles over. [b] The proper name of this place is SANDAM. [c] I obſerved a tree of eight or nine inches diameter ſawed into thirty ſix boards, with great exactneſs. [d] Stadt-houſe.

"for

" for more than 80 years, and by that means ſecured their liberty, and " the exerciſe of their religion, the moſt honourable burgomaſters.

" GERBRANT PANCRAS,
" JAQUES DE GRAAF,
" SYBRANT VALKENIER, and
" PIETER SCHAAP.

" made the peace in their magiſtracy in 1648, their ſons and relations lay- " ing the firſt ſtone of this town houſe, the 4th of November of the ſame " year."

The dimenſions of this building are 282 feet in front, 232 deep, and 116 high, excluſive of the cupola. It coſt three millions of guilders [e], when money was more valuable than it is now: this may be the more eaſily reconciled, if we conſider that no leſs than 13,000 large piles were driven to make a foundation for this ponderous burthen. Whether in this ſum they include all the plafonds, and other paintings, of which here are ſome very valuable, is not eſſential to our preſent purpoſe. Behind the ſeat of the preſiding burgomaſter is a complimental inſcription in DUTCH verſe, wrote by C. HUYGENS, one of their moſt eminent poets, which ſeems to argue the ſenſe they had of the ſecure eſtabliſhment of the ſtate at that time.

To give a minute deſcription of this edifice, would require more labour and obſervation than I had inclination or leiſure to beſtow on it. We may conſider it as a very grand and uſeful building, but not elegant nor agreeable. It contains moſt of the offices and tribunals, for the execution of the laws, in the ſeveral branches of the military as well as civil government.

It is conſtantly remarked by foreigners, that the entrance of this building is very mean, and not worthy the other parts of the ſtructure; the reaſon aſſigned for this is, that in conſulting the ſtrength and uſefulneſs

[e] 300,000 l.

of

of this work, the architect purpoſely neglected the beauty of it. Had the doors been proportioned, they would have been more ſubject to be forced, upon occaſion of thoſe tumultuous aſſemblies of the people, which are not unfrequent in this country [f]. The ſtadthouſe is guarded during the night by a body of the burghers, who are thus charged with the care of the great reſervoir of the wealth of the UNITED PROVINCES. In the lower apartments of this building is the bank, in which are ſuppoſed to be depoſited immenſe treaſures: the keys of them are depoſited in the hands of the four regent burgomaſters. Some report that theſe treaſures amount to three hundred tuns of gold; and thoſe who have faith enough to think it true, have this to ſay, that the value of ſo much gold is not above thirty two millions ſterling; and the debt of the UNITED PROVINCES is yet larger, as I ſhall have occaſion to mention hereafter. The real ſum here depoſited, is perhaps not known to any one perſon living; and even the computation in the groſs, except ſuch as I have already mentioned, is kept as an impenetrable ſecret; and no doubt there are many good reaſons why it ought to be ſo [g].

The notion of credit ſupports a great part of the commercial intereſt of mankind; as it had its original foundation in reality, the buſineſs of the world is carried on by means of it, perhaps as well as if that reality ſtill exiſted. How long this faſhion will laſt, I will not preſume to foretell, probably as long as national faith. Banks are maintained upon a certain principle of ſocial confidence; perhaps not ſo much from any good opinion which men have of each other's juſtice, as from a mutual tye of intereſt, and to prevent that diſtreſs which might follow, ſhould the knot be once untyed.

[f] In 1525 the anabaptiſts formed a conſpiracy, and 600 men, during the night, forced the town-houſe. A burgher took the precaution to cut the ropes of the bells, by which means he prevented the alarm from ſpreading and the rebels from ſtrengthening their numbers; ſo that the next day they were taken in the town houſe, and put to death. In 1535 the fanatics raiſed another commotion, and ran naked into the ſtreets, men and women, intending by dreadful cries to intimidate the inhabitants, and ſeize on the town-houſe; but this piece of extravagant folly ended only in the chaſtiſement of ſeveral of the promoters of it.

[g] They ſay king WILLIAM III. was once queſtioned on that ſubject, by one who perhaps was not diſtinguiſhed for his underſtanding. This prince anſwered, "Can you keep a ſecret?"

The bank of AMSTERDAM differs very much from that of LONDON. In the firſt all the caſh is lodged without paying any intereſt; in the laſt, as great ſums are acknowledged to be lent to the government, which pays intereſt; that intereſt is again paid to the proprietors of the ſtock.

As the bank of AMSTERDAM receives only the beſt and pureſt coin or bullion; the bank-money, as properly denominated, bears a premium of four or five per cent. more than the current money. If a man is deſirous to realize his eſtate, he ſells his bank money for current money, with greater facility than we ſell bank ſtock. Here they make payments after the manner of the bank of VENICE [h], viz. by transfer in the books of the bank from the credit of one to the credit of another: theſe transfers are made by the perſonal appearance of the transferer; by his order for which there are printed forms; or by virtue of his power of attorney. No coin or ſpecie whatſoever, when once delivered into the bank, is paid out again, unleſs in caſes of depoſites, where the identical gold or ſilver is reclaimed by him who delivered it in, and for that purpoſe he has a permit, renewable every ſix months, otherwiſe to become invalid; in the laſt caſe the caſh or bullion ſo delivered, is blended with the common ſtock, and transferable only in the manner already mentioned. The accounts which are kept by the bank are remarkably regular and true, which is indeed the more eſſential as here are no bank-notes; ſo that the merchant or other creditor, has only to confer occaſionally, in order to ſee that his accounts agree with thoſe of the bank books. Tho' this bank pays no intereſt, yet it receives intereſt for the ſums lent to the EAST and WEST INDIA companies; ſo that theſe companies trade, in ſome meaſure, for account of the ſtate. The city is thus connected with the bank, as being ſo immediately under the direction of the chief burgo maſte s; ſo it is alſo bound for the LOMBARD [h], where monies are lent on the ſecurity of all kinds of merchandize at a low intereſt.

[h] The bank of VENICE is the more antient of the two, and probably ſerved as a model to this of AMSTERDAM. [i] LEMBAERT, as denominated by the DUTCH.

The

The large ſums of money which have been lent to the DUTCH government, are intirely independent of this bank; the revenues of the reſpective provinces being engaged as a ſecurity for ſuch ſums, and for which they give bonds. Theſe debts have been made into a ſtock, which bearing a reaſonable intereſt, was at firſt above par; but that ſtock being taxed, or more properly the intereſt reduced, and not always paid in a punctual manner, the principal is fallen under par. This being conſidered as a kind of violation of national faith, neceſſarily ſinks the credit of the ſtate.

Though the public intereſt in GREAT BRITAIN is alſo reduced, it is not felt in this manner; on the contrary, the principal ſtock, which is a token of great property, is lately much encreaſed in value; whilſt the DUTCH are obliged to ſubmit, not only to the reduction of intereſt, but alſo to the diminution of the value of the principal.

With regard to the government of AMSTERDAM, the ſubject has been exhauſted by other writers. I will only take notice that there are twelve burgomaſters who change by rotation, and of theſe, four are regents annually, one of the former year always remaining. Proper officers are appointed to attend theſe burgomaſters, who are in moſt reſpects of very great weight, as the chief directors in this popular government. As the ſenate has the legiſlative, the burgomaſters have, for the moſt part, the executive power; and their influence is neceſſarily the cauſe of their being held in the higheſt veneration. The original frame of this government, ſeems to have been founded in the inclinations of the common people, and their rulers elected by their ſuffrage; but as liberty in low minds is naturally apt to breed licentiouſneſs, and conſequently to deſtroy itſelf; it was, in proceſs of time, found neceſſary to confine thoſe elections to particular bodies; that is in fact for the magiſtrates to chuſe themſelves: this alſo has produced its evils, and occaſioned jealouſies and tumults, to which we may add, inſtability, and conſequently the inſecurity of the ſtate.

Before I take my leave of AMSTERDAM, I muſt obſerve to the honour of the DUTCH, that as they acknowledge themſelves to be a colony of merchants; and that civil government is eſſential to trade; they do not think the civil offices contemptible; nor do perſons of high rank, from indolence, or a falſe delicacy, decline theſe offices, and leave them to the inferior inhabitants. It might be wiſhed that LONDON, whoſe chief glory is her trade, paid the ſame regard to the offices of civil oeconomy: it is true, ſome of the moſt conſiderable citizens have lately taken the virtuous reſolution of ſerving the community in this eſſential point; and it may be hoped that others will follow their example.

CHAP. XLVII.

Compariſon of the debt of the UNITED PROVINCES *with that of* GREAT BRITAIN. *The ſituation of* BRITISH *ſubjects in regard to their debt. The reduction of national intereſt. Moral reflections on the motives to oeconomy.*

FROM the conſideration of the enormous debt of the UNITED PROVINCES, and the preſent condition of the DUTCH, the tranſition is natural to that of my own country. The circumſtances of GREAT BRITAIN are incomparably better than thoſe of the UNITED PROVINCES; the immoveable eſtate of the latter is not computed one fortieth part ſo good as ours, though their debt, at the loweſt computation, is ſaid to be half as great, and before the late war was near equal [a]. It is remarkable that, in order to ſave their money, the DUTCH plead poverty, and report their debt to be rather greater, than ſome apprehend it really to be. However, I think it will appear to the inquiſitive world, that in regard to venality, and the want of public love, the people of the UNITED PROVINCES exceed thoſe of GREAT BRITAIN. Whether I am partial to my own country, and that the teſt of this opinion will depend on which nation falls firſt, we muſt leave to futurity.

The dangerous power exerciſed amongſt the DUTCH, was demonſtrated by the conduct of their rulers in the late war, and again by the occaſional tu-

[a] Four hundred millions of florins, or near forty millions ſterling.

mults

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F. Hayman inv. et del.

C. Grignion sculp.

mults of the common people: it is ſtill a dangerous exerciſe of power, whether a mob or a magiſtrate governs without law? But in any caſe, that ſtate would hardly ſubmit to a ſpunge without a civil commotion: an attempt to wipe off their debt would probably involve them in a greater diſtreſs, than the heavy contributions of the opulent, which are neceſſary for the relief of it.

At the cloſe of king WILLIAM's war the province of HOLLAND was engaged only for ſixty millions of guilders[b]. It was in this reign that GREAT BRITAIN began to contract debts. I know not if it is worth the pains to examine, how we came to be ſo deep in debt, unleſs that enquiry can diminiſh it: perhaps the rapid progreſs of this NECESSARY EVIL is owing to the ambition of the houſe of BOURBON, which has been the occaſion of expenſive wars. We know that the ambition of that very houſe has involved FRANCE in the ſame difficulty, perhaps in no leſs a degree; whilſt property in an arbitrary government cannot be ſo ſecure as it is in a free ſtate: conſequently the people of FRANCE are ſo far in a worſe condition, in reſpect to the debt of their government, than the BRITISH ſubjects. But may we impute this accident with regard to ourſelves, to the facility with which neceſſities or expences are created, when men know where there is a fund to ſupply them; or to a corruption of manners, and the profuſe luxuries, which are become faſhionable? Be this as it may, it muſt be obvious to every diſpaſſionate enquirer, that the encreaſe of property by trade, is a concomitant cauſe of the encreaſe of the national debt in GREAT BRITAIN.

We find political writers differ very much in their ſentiments; and, from the compariſon of the paſt and preſent times, draw very different concluſions: this muſt neceſſarily happen, whenever we compare things, which are not the proper object of compariſon. It is very plain, that, before the revolution, the BRITISH nation was not incumbered with a debt: it is now deeply immerged, and engaged to pay a very large ſum annually in intereſt; and yet, I hope, no one will doubt, that GREAT BRITAIN is at leaſt as rich and powerful a nation now as it was then. The oeconomy of the ſtate and of the people muſt conſequently have taken a very diffe-

[b] 600,000 l.

rent

rent turn. Our wars have been more expenſive, becauſe honeſty and national love have been leſs in faſhion[c]. Perhaps, with more oeconomy, we might have ſaved a conſiderable quantity of coin and bullion, which have been ſent out of the nation: but all this time it ought to be remembered, that ſuch coin and bullion is but a ſmall part of our riches. I know not what computation is made of the export of it on the account of war; but I queſtion if the whole value of the coin and bullion now in the nation amounts to four per cent on our national ſtock.

Wars, though they are the chaſtiſements of heaven, are alſo great incentives to induſtry, and create a more diffuſive circulation of money. The ſame induſtry and circulation, are, among others, great cauſes of the accumulation of our national debt; and this debt has alſo created a more extenſive accumulation of property[d]: theſe ſeem to have acted reciprocally on each other; whilſt the nation, as I juſt obſerved, has certainly acquired a great encreaſe in riches by the general balance of her trade.

Hence it ariſes that ſo much money is brought to market to be diſpoſed of to the government upon very eaſy terms. Nothing can be plainer than this, that if we were to loſe upon the general balance of our commerce, money would riſe in value in proportion to ſuch loſs. But all things have their bounds: the very encreaſe of private property would render the condition of the nation the more calamitous, ſhould the legiſlature, which may be conſidered as the great merchant of the ſtate, enter into ſuch deep engagements as to become bankrupt: for if the government lives upon the principal, without fixing certain bounds, it will not ſignify that the people live on the intereſt, ſince their mutual preſervation is inſeparably connected.

[c] To what other cauſe can we impute our wars being more expenſive now than they were formerly? The value of things is not increaſed beyond the proportion of the increaſe of riches. As we are now better able to pay a tax of ſix millions, than formerly of three or four; if that which coſt only three or four, is now worth ſix, there is no greater occaſion to make war more expenſive, in proportion to our revenues, now, than there was then: unleſs we come back to the ſame argument, that the formidable efforts of FRANCE have put us under a neceſſity of preparing greater fleets and armies than formerly. It would be very well if we could prove from thence, that the public is treated at preſent with as great reſpect as ever it was.

[d] E. g. If the government buys of me 1000 l. what I ſhould not otherwiſe have ſold for above 7 or 800, the national debt is increaſed, but ſo is my property alſo.

From

From this general poſition it may be deduced, that although the public debt has been the cauſe of public taxes, yet it is owing alſo to the ſame cauſe, that thouſands have lived upon the intereſt of their money, when they muſt have otherwiſe encroached upon the principal; and, impoveriſhing themſelves, have done more injury to the ſtate, than it now ſuffers by the public debt; becauſe the ſtate has ſo enlarged a credit beyond any private perſon.

According to the preſent circumſtances of things, a public debt is undoubtedly a benefit; but ours is too large: the great point is to obſerve the due meaſure and degree of it. Thirty or forty millions may be always convenient; and, if the ſtate ſhould require ſo much in time of war, even fifty or ſixty millions may be ſupportable without danger to the conſtitution. There is a certain proportion of taxes, beyond which the inhabitants will not, or cannot pay, without danger to their liberty. If our debt ſhould ever exceed a ſum, for which the government cannot pay a PROPER intereſt, without exacting heavier taxes, than ſuch as we are ſuppoſing to be conſiſtent; though liberty may not be endangered to the preſent generation, yet we muſt entail ſuch an incumbrance on poſterity, as will hardly conſiſt with their freedom.

The BRITISH nation is now ſaid to owe eighty millions: in caſe of a war this may be enlarged to an hundred, or an hundred and twenty millions; the intereſt of which, though at three and half per cent. is four millions two hundred thouſand pounds. So vaſt a principal ſum would neceſſarily alarm the creditors on every occaſion of the leaſt danger. In proportion as that alarm encreaſed, public love among the people would be changed into a timorous ſelf-love, and A LOOKING OUT each for himſelf; and the ſtate might thus be reduced to bankruptcy.

The preſent reduction of intereſt to a ſtandard of three and half per cent. ſeems to have all the marks of a judicious and equitable policy; but if we were to go much lower, the queſtion is, if the ſtate would not ſuffer more by the diſtreſs of individuals, than benefit by a ſaving in this manner? Suppoſing a further reduction ſhould no ways injure the national credit,

credit, yet it would fall too hard upon thoſe who have no other poſſible dependance than that of national intereſt; conſequently expedients of a more general nature ſeem eligible. Annuities on lives, for inſtance, have been recommended; theſe appear better for the ſtate than the people; and yet numbers would accept of annuities [d]. If the nation has patience to wait for twenty years, we may perhaps ſee thirty or forty millions of this debt paid off, in the method already eſtabliſhed; perhaps we ſhall be able to ſupport ourſelves with honour and ſafety in ſo long a peace, or the accumulated ſtrength of our neighbours may not, at the expiration of that time, render it neceſſary to ſwell the debt as great as it was before, and entail this incumbrance on poſterity.

Of the two evils however, the more ſpeedy diminution of the debt appears the moſt eligible, ſuppoſing that it would tend moſt to the ſecurity of this vaſt property. It is not a ſufficient conſolation to thoſe who extend their views beyond the preſent hour, nor yet conſiſtent with the dignity of the nation to ſay, "that ſo long as the government exiſts, the public ſecurity of the "funds will be ſupported." As a commercial nation, we ought to calculate better, than to run a riſk greatly exceeding all the advantages we can poſſibly propoſe. This is putting the thing upon a dangerous and fallacious iſſue; for it ſeems much leſs difficult to imagine a continuance of the independency of the nation, through the viciſſitudes to which it is ſubject; than of the ſupport of the public credit, through the neceſſities to which the government may be reduced; eſpecially if we ſhould be ſoon involved in another formidable war, that may ſhake the foundations of this conſtitution.

Though GREAT BRITAIN has juſt grounds to complain of her vices and immoralities, there ſeems to be religion and virtue enough left in the iſland; to create a ſubmiſſion to the diſpenſations of providence, even in a caſe ſo ſhocking, as that of plunging eighteen or twenty thouſand people,

[d] It may be doubted which of the two is the greater evil, to ſuffer the diminution of intereſt during life, or the loſs of the principal after death. Where there are no families in the caſe, the latter ſeems the moſt eligible, otherwiſe it would certainly be a leſs evil to ſuffer a reduction of our revenues without affecting the principal, than for a man's children to be plunged into poverty.

with

with ten times as many more who are their dependents, and the meaneſt of them above the labouring part of the people, at one ſtroke into the loweſt poverty. The evil would be extended to very remote conſequences, whilſt the national ſtock would not be in the leaſt increaſed; unleſs we ſuppoſe foreigners who have their money in our hands, muſt alſo ſubmit to ſee us turn bankrupts, and at the ſame time hold ſuch a rich landed eſtate as ours, unengaged for any future payment. What politicians are theſe who ſuppoſe this nation ſo corrupt as to run ſuch a riſk without any general benefit? The property of the merchants is in a great meaſure connected with the public credit: if that credit ſhould fail, what an immenſe circulation would ceaſe! what a wound would our commerce receive, in conſequence of the loſs of that imaginary wealth which is now as good as real!

It is true, we have an example in FRANCE of no antient date, of a large national debt being paid with a ſpunge: but FRANCE was, and ſtill is, under arbitrary power; the HONOUR OF INDIVIDUALS is conſequently at a much lower ebb than among us; and what could WE expect for ſo national a crime as this, but the tenfold curſe of deſpotic rule?

No man of common modeſty, or common ſenſe, will pretend to ſay that a nation, computed upon a fair calculation to be worth from 600 to 800 millions, cannot pay off half a debt of 80 millions. The poſſibility is apparent; the great point is, to levy ſuch an equal tax as ſhall not diſtreſs the poor, nor leave the rich any JUST cauſe of complaint. Whatever is done, ought to be calculated for the main end in view, which is the preſervation of liberty, in the manner moſt practicable and agreeable to the genius of the people. The debt was contracted to ſupply the exigencies of the ſtate, and to protect the whole body of the nation; the whole body of the nation then are obliged to repay it; and if the ſtate requires it, not by taxes on the common people, but according to the proportions of the actual poſſeſſions of every individual [k], in ſuch a manner as

[k] Even one per cent. per annum on real property, excluſive of other taxes, would, in ſix or eight years, produce a vaſt treaſure.

ſhould not appear in the leaſt degree deſtructive of liberty. Thoſe who urge that great part of this ſum has been devoured in bribes, unjuſt accounts, and a whole liſt of crying enormities under paſt adminiſtrations, ſay very little to the purpoſe; for if this is NOT true, the argument amounts to nothing more than a calumnious report; and if it IS true, though we muſt own they are injuries committed againſt the whole community, yet they are injuries of ſuch a nature, that the whole community are anſwerable for them to themſelves, and muſt for their own ſakes make good the conſequences of them.

Men who think ſoberly on this ſubject, will hardly conceive that a BRITISH government has ever entertained ſo impious a thought, as to mean to annul this debt; or that any party ſecretly wiſh for it; conſequently all POLITICAL PREDICTIONS* on this principle ought to be treated as diſhonourable reveries, and melancholy deluſions. We ought rather to ſuppoſe, that the landed as well as monied intereſt of the nation, mean to pay off this debt in ſuch a neceſſary proportion, as will ſtrengthen our credit, already ſo juſtly ſuperior to that of any other nation.

That GREAT BRITAIN is immenſely rich, is indubitable. A land tax of one ſhilling produces half a million to the crown; and if the aſſeſſment was juſt and equal, and the charge of collecting reduced, it would then amount to a whole million: it follows, that the annual revenues of the proprietors of land only, are 20 millions; conſequently at the moderate computation of 20 years purchaſe, the value is 400 millions; may not the annual induſtry of this nation be deemed equal to the produce of above half as much more; not to mention the plate, jewels, money, mines and houſes[1]?

On the other hand, if the proprietors in good earneſt felt the evil at their doors, and that they are the real debtors, and ſubject to be arreſted by each other: if they were in danger of ſequeſtration by civil war, or in conſequence of foreign invaſion, how greatly would this valuation ſink!

[1] Some profeſſed calculators make the revenues for the ſupport of the people and the government forty three millions, which correſponds with the ſuppoſition I have made above.

I am

I am not verſed in political arithmetic, but I will ſuppoſe the value in queſtion to be only 600 millions in the whole; would not a gradual diminution, or rather change of property of five or ſix in the hundred of this national ſtock, in the ſpace of eight or ten years, and I hope there is no danger of being involved in a war ſooner, be a leſs evil than to continue ſo deeply in debt as we now are? Would not this method enrich the proprietors of the ninety-four parts? By this means all taxes on every branch of trade, and on every article of conſumption, would be diminiſhed in ſo great a degree, that theſe ninety four parts would be then more valuable than the hundred are now [m]. If this can be demonſtrated, we ſeem to be in the circumſtances of that miſer who offered a ſhilling to be bled; but the ſurgeon demanding half a crown, before the conteſt was decided, the man died. This may be our caſe, for we are ſubject to a political as well as a natural death.

Something of this ſort would certainly be brought into execution, if every proprietor would ſay to his own heart, "I am flattering myſelf "into a belief that I owe nothing, when I really owe a tenth part of "my eſtate; which if I do not offer to pay off in part, though the go-"vernment ſhould not compel me to it, the danger my children are ex-"poſed to of loſing the whole, is greater than the inconvenience of pay-"ing my ſhare at this time. Can I anſwer it to my conſcience to leave "the poor to pay MY DEBT from their daily labour? Is it poſſible they "CAN pay it whilſt the taxes do little more than anſwer the intereſt of "this debt, and the current annual expence of the government in time of "peace?"

The reader may laugh at the expreſſion MY DEBT, till he conſiders that the term MY COUNTRY in this land of liberty is adopted as proper; the firſt indeed means a deprivation of a good, as the laſt implies the poſſeſſion of one. The debt of the public is certainly the debt of a number of individuals; but becauſe every one conſiders the ſum in the groſs, and thinks but with repugnance on his proportion of it, the mind being

[m] The vaſt expence this government is at in collecting taxes would revert into the national treaſuries, as well as the labour of collectors, who muſt find a different employment.

loſt on the one ſide in the greatneſs of the idea, and diſtreſſed on the other by the painfulneſs of it, turns to ſome other object.

Are we not bound, in proportion to the degree of power and fortune we poſſeſs, to act as if this debt was our own, in the common ſenſe of the word? If every member of the body politic thus conſidered himſelf, he could not with common honeſty avoid being anxious to clear himſelf of his ſhare, in a neceſſary proportion, as already obſerved; and to exert his utmoſt abilities that others ſhould perform their duty in like manner, and make ſelf-love and ſocial the ſame common principle.

Though the riches of ſome, or the poverty of others, may make them repugnant to the receipt of any part of their principal money; and though it may be imagined that national funds which pay intereſt are national benefits; yet it ſeems to be a glaring abſurdity, that we had better remain SO DEEP in debt, than diſcharge ANY PART of it; unleſs we had at the ſame time a ſinking fund annually accumulating, and devoted to the ſupport of a war, or any important call of the nation. Such a fund can hardly be ſuppoſed, for then the government would pay a large intereſt for a ſum laying dead, out of pure love to ſuch people who might be ignorant how to employ their money in any other way. It is, I preſume, moſt natural to imagine, that the leſs we owe, the higher intereſt the public can afford to give upon an emergency: for that emergency we ought to be ready; we know it will come: if we judge from the experience of paſt ages, it is, humanly ſpeaking, as certain as death, though we know not the time of either. Money is plenty now, but experience does not warrant its being ſo in time of war; on the contrary, an unprofitable peace is ſometimes ſubmitted to, merely for want of money, though we are at the ſame time ſo rich a nation; which proves how the want of public love may ſubvert a monarchy. The higher intereſt the nation gives, the greater ſums it can raiſe[n], and conſequently whilſt money, as well as

[n] The contrary is maintained by ſome, but that can be only in time of peace and ſafety, and at beſt proves only that the people know not how to employ all their money.

good

good ſoldiers, is confeſſedly the ſinews of war, the fairer we bid for a ſecure and laſting peace.

Perhaps it may be alſo found, that this debt, as is generally experienced among private men, wounds the œconomy of the ſtate; if it does not prevent ſuch a number of ſhips of war being conſtantly employed, as might tend to the better ſupport of our naval ſtrength.

What but the conſideration of this debt could have ſo long induced a nation famed through the world for humanity, to raiſe a tax on the miſerable poor, for the liberty of deſtroying themſelves with liquid fire, whilſt it became a provocation to them to deſtroy others alſo, and endanger the very foundations of ſociety?

From hence it muſt appear of how great importance it is to diminiſh a national debt, when we ſee ſo ſtriking an inſtance of the neceſſities of a government ariſing from that debt. No one will pretend to ſay that a miniſter, who is a man of ſenſe and humanity, could be either ignorant or careleſs in this reſpect. Is it however poſſible that a miniſtry ſhould ſee the people indifferent with relation to the public, and without any ſcruple enriching themſelves beyond due meaſure out of the public money, without being alarmed? A miniſtry leſs moderate and diſintereſted than the preſent, might be almoſt tempted to conſider the government and the people in a diſtinct view: for what is more according to the corruption of the human heart than this, that when a people do not obſerve their duty with regard to the government, the government ſhould have the leſs tenderneſs for the people? Is not this conſideration ſufficient to rouze a nation to a ſenſe of virtue?

There are without doubt many political points of univerſal concernment to a nation, and yet not eaſy to be underſtood. It is the buſineſs only of a few to know all the ſecret ſprings which move a government; hence we may juſtly entertain a jealouſy of our private apprehenſions. Some points however will be canvaſſed, whether they are underſtood or not: every body can talk, though ſome may not clearly underſtand their own meaning.

We

We ought to thank heaven for what is already done towards our relief. By the particular countenance ſhown by the miniſtry, and the generous efforts of the PATRIOT CITIZEN, the intereſt of the national debt is reduced. There were ſome ſtruggles in obtaining this neceſſary, great, and valuable point. That patriot citizen will not, I fear, live to ſee his ſcheme carried into execution in all its parts. The reduction of intereſt ſeems to be in effect a ſumptuary law, which ought to extend to all ranks and orders.

I preſume that men even in the greateſt offices, profeſs to be no more than ſervants of the people; the foundation of a free government ſuppoſes the firſt regard due to them: conſequently if the neceſſities of the people, for the ſupport of the ſtate, require their living lower in THEIR rank; thoſe whom they enable to live in ſplendor, according to the nature of their reſpective offices in the ſtate, ought in all reaſon to contribute in PROPORTION; for this plain reaſon, that inſtead of weakening their own dignity, and by this means hurting the community, they will probably, do it the greateſt ſervice, and anſwer the wiſe ends for which the people have agreed to ſupport them in that ſplendor.

A liberal allowance is perhaps at all times neceſſary to the principal offices in a great ſtate; and if ſome prodigality is countenanced when that ſtate is in a flouriſhing condition, what mighty injury can it receive? But can a ſtate be ſaid to flouriſh in the ſenſe of the preſent argument, when it is involved in a heavy debt? To make no diſtinction ſeems to argue as groſs an impropriety as the conduct of that private man who, when his eſtate is without incumbrance, lives up to the height of it, and when it becomes deeply mortgaged, ſtill makes the ſame expence. He may perhaps have the addreſs to ſupport himſelf for a conſiderable time; but if winds blow down his barns, or mortality rage among his cattle, what will become of his eſtate? Nations are ſubject to calamities as well as private men; and the exerciſe of human wiſdom is as neceſſary in public as private affairs.

Upon

Upon the occaſion of the late reduction of national intereſt, neighbouring nations * began to gaze with wonder as if the golden age was reſtored to this iſland, and that this reduction of national intereſt would be followed by that of national penſions, and of the great ſalaries annexed to ſome offices, ſo as to bear a proportion to the SAVINGS upon the article of intereſt, and thus enable the government to make great advances in the payment of the national debt. In this THEIR opinion has outrun OUR virtue; but much may be expected from the equal ſpirit that prevails in the legiſlature. It is true, ſpeculative and active virtue differ extremely. There are always more philoſophers in theory than in practice; yet it ought to be preſumed that thoſe who think juſtly, will endeavour to act conſiſtently.

Every man of great rank and office in this nation muſt either believe that our debt is really an object of no danger, and that we are conjuring up a ſpirit for the pleaſure of being frightened; or he muſt be of a contrary opinion; if the laſt, ſuppoſing he wiſhes the happineſs of his country, which ought to be preſumed, will he not in his ſerious hours reaſon thus with his own heart? "I ſee my country involved in a heavy debt "which injures her foreign influence and her domeſtic ſecurity. It is true "our affairs are mending; the intereſt of money is lowered, but can "this produce ſo ſpeedy a reduction of the national debt as our welfare "requires? Is it in my power to do any real ſervice to my country? Is it "not my duty to contribute to her wants? The circumſtances of the times "are ſuch, that I am not called upon for any reduction of the ſalary which "I receive of the public, and perhaps my example will not make any "impreſſion; but if the thing is right and proper to me, it is ſo to all "perſons under the ſame circumſtances as I am; nor will it be leſs right, "though it ſhould be deemed an affectation of popularity, an enthuſiaſm "in politics, or a rank hypocriſy. Some body muſt begin: it may not "be convenient for the miniſter: I confeſs it appears to me juſt and conſiſtent; and my conſcience dictates it to me; I can live with moſt HO-

* The FRENCH miniſters, I am told, declared without reſerve, that they thought the thing impracticable.

"NOUR-

"NOUR on a ſmaller income; for inſtead of pampering my dependents in "a luxurious ſuperfluity, I MAY become an inſtrument of providence to "ſave eight or nine millions of people, who are all dear to me, from the "miſeries of civil war, or the deſpotic tyranny of ſome bold invader: but "it is CERTAIN I ſhall perform an act of juſtice to my country. I "ſhall do a charity which I hope will be acceptable in the ſight of GOD. "I ſhall expreſs my gratitude to the public, as that common benefactor "by which my anceſtors have been ſupported through ſo many ages; and "by which I have myſelf enjoyed all the comforts and delights of the "happieſt government in the world, under one of the beſt of kings. Per-"haps in the chain of effects, and the courſe of a wiſe and good provi-"dence, this ſingle action might alſo be a means of preſerving the welfare "of a great part of EUROPE; for if the antient virtue of this iſland is re-"ſtored to it; the native valour of my countrymen may eſtabliſh them as "the arbiters of EUROPEAN liberty, or at leaſt ſecure our own on the moſt "permanent baſis."

Were ſuch viſionary ſpeculations brought into action, which is at leaſt poſſible; would a miniſter deny his acquieſcence to SUCH A CONDUCT, and think SUCH A MAN a lunatic; or rejoice to ſee an inſtance of diſintereſted and generous regard to the community? Would he be ſorry to find himſelf in a fair way of being relieved from thoſe perplexities in which miniſters in GREAT BRITAIN have been generally involved? Would he lament to ſee a large ſaving to the nation, inſtead of that anxiety which attends a want of money for the purpoſes of government?

If SUCH A CONDUCT were the iſſue of a ſolid judgment and well-regulated affections; and if the neceſſities of the nation do require SUCH a conduct; it may be aſked why is not this, or ſomething equal to it, brought into execution by the miniſter, who has the power? Is not this begging the queſtion? Would a miniſter in GREAT BRITAIN have ANY POWER AT ALL, was he to attempt making the people virtuous in deſpite of themſelves? It is impoſſible that he can be ignorant of the inclination of the people; and if they have not virtue enough to ſave the nation, that

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is, themſelves, whenever the matter is brought to this iſſue, what power on earth can ſave them?

By operating with their bad affections, a miniſter might bring the people to a ſpeedier ruin; or by a judicious oppoſition of them, ward off the blow for a time; but can he ſupport the people againſt their wills? Let us conſider the thing in another light: if thoſe who enjoy places and penſions, and may, in ſome meaſure, have the power of acting in this reſpect as they pleaſe, have too much wit, or too little virtue, to renounce any part of the profits ariſing from ſuch places and penſions, from a conſideration that the ſtate is in NEED; it will not follow that the landed and commercial intereſt, which is incomparably the moſt wealthy, may not contribute as largely as the ſtate requires. Such an UNBIASSED DISINTERESTEDNESS would never be their ruin. The more virtue there is in the nation, the longer it will ſtand: therefore if the place or penſion-man does not ſhew the nobility, or the country gentlemen an example of patriotiſm; if theſe begin, the effect will be near the ſame.

In ſhort, if the ruling paſſion of perſons in any ſtate, is the preſervation of their country, they will rather conſider the END, than the MEANS. They will ſubſcribe to any method not in itſelf inconſiſtent, rather than ſpend their time in a fruitleſs debate. I ſuppoſe we are ſtill a free and a wiſe nation; whatever method then the legiſlature may appoint, the virtuous will unite in warding off every calamity to which the nation is expoſed.

A reſolution of the legiſlature to pay off a large proportion of the debt by taxes, unprecedented in theſe latter times, would appear to many as an invaſion of liberty, and a greater evil than to ſuffer the debt to be paid in more moderate proportions. On the other hand, ſome apprehend it to be more inconſiſtent with liberty, that we ſhould owe ſo heavy a national debt; and think it ought to be reduced by extraordinary taxes. If men of fortune are of this laſt opinion, and have virtue enough to act up to their principles, we ſhall ſoon owe a leſs exorbitant ſum. If they are

not of that opinion, or have not virtue to act up to their principles, with what countenance can they complain?

CHAP. XLVIII.

A deſcription of HAERLEM. *Reflexions on retirement in advanced age. Of* LEYDEN *and the* HAGUE. *A brief account of the houſe of* ORANGE.

ON the 16th of October I took my leave of AMSTERDAM, where it was my fortune to be at a ſeaſon that was rude and diſagreeable. Were the people in that city ſo diſpoſed to kill themſelves in an ill humour as they are in another great trading metropolis, I ſhould think it at leaſt as proper a place for this purpoſe, eſpecially in the preſent month. When the froſt comes on, they are more braced and active, and at all times too buſy to fall into this atrocious practice. I embarked at the HAERLEM gate, taking the * roof of the treckſcoot: theſe ſtage-boats are extremely commodious, as they ſet out at ſtated hours, and perform their paſſage at a certain time almoſt to a minute; but the common part of the boat is often rendered inſupportable, from the cuſtom of ſmoaking tobacco, ſo highly offenſive to ſome perſons.

The HAERLEM canal is bounded by meadow-lands, well covered with horned cattle; but there are not many houſes near the banks. In two hours and a half we reached HAERLEM. This is a town of very great note, and not leſs diſtinguiſhed for its cleanneſs. It is remarkable for bleaching, alſo for the manufactory of linnen, and ſeveral other material articles. Here was a conſiderable garriſon of ſoldiers: the fortification, in ſome parts, is only a lofty brick wall. This place is ſaid to have flouriſhed ſo early as the year 1155. In 1292 a revolution happened, in which great part of it was burnt: a circumſtance of the like nature happened by accident in 1347. In 1573 it was taken by the SPANIARDS, who treated the inhabitants

* The cabin.

with

with great cruelty; 1700 men, the remains of the garriſon, were either hanged, or put to the ſword, for defending themſelves eight months. Here are twelve churches, of which four only are of the eſtabliſhed religion. HAERLEM lays claim to the invention of printing, which they attribute to LAWRENCE COSTER, who was born here about the beginning of the 15th century. A little to the ſouth of this city is the HAERLEM-MEER, which is a large lake, but as it abounds in ſhallows, and is too much expoſed to the wind, the canal is much preferable for the commerce with AMSTERDAM.

After a ſhort ſtay I embarked for LEYDEN: the land behind HAERLEM is hilly and ſandy, and the banks of the LEYDEN canal are higher than thoſe of HAERLEM. Here they cover their cows with body-cloths, aſſigning this as a reaſon, that by keeping their backs warm, they give milk the more abundantly. There are ſeveral country houſes and plantations of trees, and agreeable walks. About three miles from HAERLEM is HARTCAMP, the country-ſeat of old Mr. CLIFFORD; this gentleman is poſſeſſed of a conſiderable fortune, and having a taſte for gardening, he paſſes his time moſtly in the country.

The acquiſition of riches being, for the moſt part, the ſupreme object of a DUTCHMAN's attention; ſeldom any of them leave the world till the world leaves them, however indulgent providence may have been to them, with regard to the means of a comfortable and honourable retirement. It is no uncommon thing in all countries to graſp at the objects of avarice and ambition, even under the circumſtances of age and ſickneſs; and though ſuch men ſee themſelves, if they ſee at all, ſuſpended by a hair between the viſible and inviſible world, yet will they continue to be led by the deluſions of the mind. It is true, there is nothing in which we are oftener miſtaken, than in our apprehenſions of the pleaſures of retirement, after a life devoted to buſineſs. Men of contemplative minds are apt to think of this too early, and perſons of a contrary turn never imagine it is late enough. Active virtue is certainly preferable to that which is paſſive only; yet it ſeems unpardonable in old men of eaſy fortunes, who, having

made the experiment, find that they CAN bring themſelves to a reliſh of a contemplative life, that they DO NOT devote the greateſt part of their latter days to it. Every profeſſion, I believe, has reaſon enough to rejoice in an opportunity of making up for the deficiencies of the earlier part of life; but ſome callings, in a more peculiar manner, keep the mind in a continual hurry, or, which is much the ſame, in a cloſer attention to the concerns of this world than is conſiſtent with the duties of religion. Old men ought to be ready to aſſiſt with their counſel: but is it not ſometimes an injury to the ſociety for them to refuſe giving up the more active ſcenes of life? Thoſe who are beſt qualified, by their years and ſtrength, for a greater fertility and energy of thought, ſhould certainly have the office which GOD and nature ſeems to have appointed for them. Mr. CLIFFORD, in this reſpect, has judged like a man of ſenſe and virtue.

It may be obſerved however, that, in commercial nations, men of the moſt advanced age, and greateſt fortunes, ſeem to think it as conſiſtent to die with a pen, as with a prayer-book, in their hands. The opulency of nations, in ſome meaſure, ariſes from this ſpirit; but it cannot be right policy to give more of ourſelves to this world than belongs to it. Beſides, moſt of the good purpoſes of life relating to national welfare, may be anſwered by initiating our ſons or relations into an early taſte of commerce, and committing it to their conduct before we die, under circumſtances that may render it pleaſant, as well as profitable; rather than to leave them immenſe fortunes, perhaps to be ſquandered after our death, merely for want of this precaution.

The diſtance to LEYDEN is fifteen ENGLISH miles: we were four hours exactly on the way. On the bank of the canal, near this place, is the ſeat of the famous Dr. BOERHAVE, now in the hands of a perſon of that name, who alſo profeſſes phyſic. This place is well known for its univerſity, and great antiquity. It is alſo remarkable for a conſiderable manufactory of woollen cloth, which however, for ſome years paſt, has very much decreaſed, partly owing to the decay of the PERSIAN trade carried on by the ARMENIANS, which equally affects the ſilk-

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manufactories of AMSTERDAM[b]. There is a conſiderable number of ſtudents from all parts of EUROPE, and the univerſity is of great reputation. They have generally a very large garriſon: the city in itſelf is neat and agreeable; but, as moſt other places in the UNITED PROVINCES have too much water, this has not enough; nor has it ſuch a communication with the ſea as affords a proper motion by tides to keep the water ſweet. The gardens about it are extremely fruitful, and land bears a prodigious price.

In 1574 the SPANIARDS beſieged this town, upon which occaſion the inhabitants, to the number of about twenty thouſand, behaved with ſuch intrepid valour during a ſiege of five months, that the very women performed the military duty. About ſix thouſand died of the plague and famine; and being at length reduced to the laſt extremity, they were ſummoned by the SPANISH general FRANCIS BALDEZ to ſurrender; they anſwered bravely, that ſo long as they had a LEFT arm, they ſhould not want proviſion; and that they would employ their RIGHT to defend their liberty. They ſay that ADRIAN DE WERF, a burgomaſter, being importuned by ſome of the inhabitants to ſurrender the city, replied, "Since "I muſt die, my friends, it does not ſignify whether it be by you, or "the enemy; cut my body into pieces, and divide it amongſt you; I "ſhall expire contented, if I can be a means of preſerving you, though it "were for one hour only." Providence at length interpoſed in a ſignal manner for their deliverance; count LEWIS of NASSAU, brother to the prince of ORANGE, came to their ſuccour, and obliged the SPANIARDS to retire.

From LEYDEN I went to the HAGUE, where we arrived in three hours. A place ſo renowned for political negotiations would, on that account, be celebrated in the journals of travellers, even though it was not in itſelf equal, in ſome reſpects, to the proudeſt cities in EUROPE: it has no incloſure, and is called a village; the ſtreets are broad, and ſeveral of them are

[b] It appears that the DUTCH were jealous of the ENGLISH trade through RUSSIA to PERSIA; and that Mr. DE DIEU applied in 1745 for the ſame privilege as the BRITISH ſubjects then enjoyed, in order to obtain an ample ſupply of ſilk. At preſent the great decline of this branch of trade is owing to the troubles in PERSIA.

with-

without canals: their houſes for the moſt part are extremely well built. The number of coaches belonging to noblemen and gentlemen, and the gay appearance of dreſs, give one an idea of life very different from that of the trading cities. People here are more polite and eaſy in their carriage than in other parts of HOLLAND; this is a natural conſequence of ſome of the moſt conſiderable perſons in EUROPE meeting there continually for political affairs, in the ſervice of almoſt every EUROPEAN prince: beſides as the STATES GENERAL aſſemble here, this draws the greateſt part of the people of the firſt diſtinction in the UNITED PROVINCES. The HAGUE may alſo be conſidered either as a great city, or a rural ſcene: for the ENVIRONS which immediately incloſe it are extremely delightful; whilſt they have plays, and other amuſements, as cuſtomary in great cities.

The air of this place is ſaid to be very wholeſome. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE attributes longer life to the inhabitants of this village, than to thoſe of any other place in the UNITED PROVINCES; yet are the people more careleſs in cleaning their canals, than is conſiſtent with the preſervation of health. It is really amazing how men decline into neglects injurious to the ſociety, which might be prevented with the leaſt thought and induſtry. Near this place is the palace known by the name of the houſe in the wood, which belongs to the prince of ORANGE; as alſo RYSWICK, famous for the peace of 1697.

One of the fineſt houſes in the HAGUE belongs to count WILLIAM BENTINCK, and was now occupied by the prince of ORANGE. As this nobleman had been ſo extremely obliging in HANOVER, as to invite me to his houſe at the HAGUE, I went to pay my reſpects to him at SORGVLIET, where he generally reſides in the ſummer ſeaſon: but he was gone to meet his BRITANNIC majeſty in his return from HANOVER. This ſeat is near two ENGLISH miles diſtance, and much frequented by perſons of taſte. The houſe is of little note; but the gardens, though in many parts yet uncultivated, are delightful. They abound in lofty trees, and different kinds of hanging walks, which diverſify the ſcene, and render them very pleaſant, particularly in a country where moſt of their country-

ſeats

ſeats are upon a dead flat: on the road to it there is a public garden, in imitation of VAUX-HALL.

At the HAGUE are only two churches of any conſequence. Though ſeveral of the ſtreets abound in ſhops, their trade is moſtly confined to their own conſumptions; hence this place is preferred for the quartering of the ſoldiery, of whom here was a regiment of grey cavalry of HESSIANS, who made a gallant appearance, alſo a regiment of DUTCH dragoons, and two regiments of infantry. The pay of a common ſoldier in the DUTCH ſervice is four ſtivers, cloaths deducted; but proviſions are dear. I obſerved their clothing, which is blue, is of much better cloth than that in which his PRUSSIAN majeſty's ſoldiers are clad; the ſerjeants of the guards have ſilver-laced regimentals. The DUTCH are diſtinguiſhed from the HESSIANS and SWISS by white breeches. They are extremely neat, their hair being dreſſed in the manner of the PRUSSIAN ſoldiers, but their cloaths are not quite ſo ſhort: they are incumbered with heavier ſwords and larger hats, whilſt their muſkets are lighter. They perform their exerciſe with exactneſs, and are examined every fourth day that their arms be kept in order. In 1666 the DUTCH had 60,000 men in pay, and four years after at the general peace, upon the reduction of the army they continued 26,200 men, which coſting annually ſix millions of guilders, this we may reckon twenty-three pounds each man, officers included.

As this place might be conſidered more immediately the court of the prince of ORANGE, I hardly expected to hear any thing ſaid of him diſreſpectfully. It is well known however with what reluctance a conſiderable party in the UNITED PROVINCES ſubmitted to this prince's acceſſion to the dignity enjoyed by his fore-fathers; though he had ſo juſt a title, not only on account of THEIR merit, but HIS OWN alſo; and not leſs from the nature of the conſtitution of that country, and the experience of paſt ages, than from the particular danger of the time, in which this event was brought about.

The

WILLIAM, ſirnamed the GREAT, was the FIRST STADT-HOLDER, and may be properly called the founder of the republic. He ſpent his life in the ſtudy of war and politics, in which he was a great proficient, and not leſs diſtinguiſhed for his private virtues. He was at length aſſaſſinated, in conſequence of the reſentments of the SPANIARDS, and ſealed the generous actions of his life with his blood. His ſon MAURICE, the ſecond ſtadt-holder, adhering to the virtuous principles of his father, ſupported the independency of the republic. HENRY FREDERIC, the next brother, ſucceeding to the ſtadt-holderſhip, diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a warrior and a patriot. The fourth ſtadt-holder was WILLIAM II. who married the eldeſt daughter of our king CHARLES I. This prince dying at the age of twenty-four, left a poſthumous ſon, who was our WILLIAM III. In his infancy the dignity of ſtadt-holderſhip was annulled; but the terror of FRENCH armies obliged the STATES to recur to that expedient to which they owed their very being, as a republic. King WILLIAM fought their battles, and ſaved them. After his deceaſe, though the dignity of ſtadt-holder was not aboliſhed, it was ſuffered to expire; nor did the STATES revive it till the ſixth and preſent ſtadt-holder, WILLIAM CHARLES HENRY FRIZO, a collateral branch of the illuſtrious houſe of ORANGE, who by the ſalutary mediation of a ſtrong party of his friends, and the ſpirit of a mob, when a FRENCH army was already at their doors, had this dignity conferred on him in 1745. With what moderation he has uſed it, and what little reſpect has been ſhewed to it, the hiſtory of the times will make apparent. I only mention what fell under my notice of the general turn of the party in the UNITED PROVINCES, who were luke-warm friends, or no friends at all, to the prince; with this diſtinction however, that ſome who hated the STADTHOLDER, loved the PRINCE.

Conſidering the neighbourhood and great power of FRANCE, the preſent, as they think, precarious peace, and the diſunion of their councils; the DUTCH ſeem to be perſuaded that there muſt be a power lodged in ONE, to unite and exert their force in caſe of danger. Reaſon and experience have taught

taught them the neceſſity of this power: But a ſtate muſt poſſeſs more virtue than I am afraid there is among the DUTCH, to ſuppreſs thoſe prejudices and reſentments which are apt to ariſe in the minds of one part of a people upon any change of government. The anti ſtadt-holders, who wiſh to ſee the prince pulled out of his ſeat, operate with him moſt heartily in making proviſion for the very men they moſt deſpiſe, or hate, whenever they think they can, by this means, render his office odious to the people: thus his highneſs has to ſtruggle with ſecret, as well as profeſſed enemies. Men of moderation ſay, he does not want parts, that he is a man of a moſt amiable diſpoſition, of an excellent heart, and yet every day he loſes ground; alledging that "his diſpoſition may be good; but the "effects of it are bad, by his being too indulgent to men of no principles."

It is a common ſaying, we love the treaſon, though we hate the traitor: to ſave a ſtate can hardly be called treaſon; but it is generally thought a dangerous maxim in politics, to put men in offices of truſt, whoſe principles allow them to take any ſide that may afterwards appear to be their intereſt. But how will they prove, that the prince makes choice of ſuch men? It may be ſuſpected, that thoſe who are not in office are, for that very reaſon, diſaffected. It is granted that many perſons, whoſe power is now eclipſed, ought not to be admitted to the offices of the ſtate, becauſe they have a rooted diſlike to the prince, as well as to the ſtadt-holderſhip: but then it is OBJECTED, that thoſe who love the prince, and acquieſce ſincerely in the power veſted in him; who are capable of ſervice, and beloved by the people, are notwithſtanding kept out of office. They acknowledge that every honeſt man cannot be employed; but that ſuch perſons of worth and honour ought not to be rejected, for the ſervile tools, and lower inſtruments, who brought the prince into office, but are by no means able to eſtabliſh ſuch a degree of power, as is eſſential to that office; that ſuch men ought rather to be rewarded in a pecuniary way, or by employments abroad; but not to be preferred ſo as to diſgrace their very patrons, who are aſhamed to own their having brought them into place: whereas by chuſing men of worth and reputation, who are really the prince's friends, there would be no difficulty in his acquiring a proper aſcendency, and thereby eſtabliſh himſelf in the minds of the people.

How the prince ought to act, is hard to ſay; but this is clear to me, that his very moderation which would render him amiable in a virtuous age, will make him contemptible in a vicious one; for, without a great ſhare of reſolution, it is not poſſible to govern men, who have been uſed to make their own will the law and rule of their conduct.

To drop ſo critical a point, let us conſider the authority of a ſtadtholder, which is very confined, unleſs when he appears at the head of an army, and then perhaps he is not only an object of jealouſy, but his power too much circumſcribed. The ſtadt-holder ſometimes ſigns public treaties in conjunction with the ſtates, but ſuch treaties do not derive from hence the greater weight or authenticity; for though he is ſuppoſed to repreſent the dignity of the republic, yet whilſt the STATES poſſeſs the ſovereignty, he cannot be conſidered but as a ſubject. He has indeed the power to pardon condemned malefactors; but he has not even a ſeat or vote in the aſſemblies of the STATES. There are certain prerogatives annexed to the office, which vary in the different provinces, and are alterable by the power from whence they are derived, that is, by the STATES GENERAL.

The ſtadt-holderſhip, which is now made hereditary in the houſe of ORANGE, was, from it's original nature, elective; but the high and indelible obligations which the DUTCH owe to WILLIAM the GREAT; and the renowned patriotiſm and fidelity of the illuſtrious houſe of ORANGE, through every generation, have ever thrown the choice on this family as a kind of neceſſary conſequence.

The appointment of the ſtadt-holderſhip from the STATES, is one hundred thouſand guilders[b], and the prince's paternal inheritance is far more conſiderable.

But, alas! while we are yet ſpeaking, his candle is burnt out; and all our wiſhes for his temporal happineſs vaniſh like a dream in the night. The memory of this excellent PRINCE will indeed ever retain a ſweet ſavor, and muſt do honour to human nature, whilſt probity is revered by mankind.

[b] 9,500 l.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIX.

A general account of the commerce and cauſe of riches, as alſo of the air, ſoil, &c. of the UNITED PROVINCES. *Of the genius and manners of the* DUTCH, *their parcimony, cloathing, women, &c.*

IT may appear careleſs to leave the UNITED PROVINCES without ſome general reflections, eſpecially as travellers, either in purſuit of learning or pleaſure, ſeldom conſider this country in the ſame light as ITALY or FRANCE; and conſequently there is not much ſaid of it, except in laborious hiſtorical accounts. Indeed it ought not to be expected from one who only rides poſt, that he ſhould be able to give an accurate and circumſtantial account of a foreign country, when perhaps he knows very little of his own, after living in it for many years.

I know not if any body has given an account of the UNITED PROVINCES ſo worthy of eſteem as that of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE. His general idea of theſe people in his time is contained in theſe words: "HOLLAND "is a country where the earth is better than the air, and profit more "in requeſt than honour; where there is more ſenſe than wit; more "good nature than good humour; and more wealth than pleaſure; where "a man would chuſe rather to travel than to live; ſhall find more things "to obſerve than deſire; and more perſons to eſteem than to love."

As a kind of contraſt to what is remarked by this polite author, the following deſcription will corroborate the notion which the unprejudiced reader may have received of the genius of the DUTCH, and the nature of their country. This burleſque, and perhaps obſcure hiſtorian ſays, "In HOLLAND the four elements are good for nothing; it is a coun-"try where they worſhip a golden idol, ſeated on a throne of cheeſe, "and crowned with tobacco; where art ſurpaſſes nature, and induſtry "alone makes the ſtate flouriſh; where ruſticity of ſpeech is prefer-"red to the perſwaſive ſoftneſs of gentle words, and a coarſeneſs of

" manners makes a ſhow of liberty; where the wives are miſtreſſes, " and the huſbands ſervants; where the houſes, by dint of frequent " waſhings, appear as cabinets; and an exceſs of cleanlineſs is inconve- " nient: in a word, where butter and cheeſe is the harveſt and reward " of the people's toil."

The DUTCH are moſt certainly devoted to commerce, and, though in the midſt of EUROPE, detached as it were from other nations: they are bred up in an abhorrence of regal power, and conſequently have a diſtaſte of the manners of the polite nations who are ſubject to this form of government. Under theſe circumſtances they can hardly be ſuppoſed to raiſe many men of genius, or to cultivate the more refined arts of contemplative life and liberal ſcience. It may be preſumed that later ages have improved many of the higher ranks of their people, but perhaps ſome of them have at the ſame time exchanged their parcimonious ſimplicity for an expenſive and luxurious manner of living, and by rendering themſelves neceſſitous, opened a way to thoſe temptations which their artful and ambitious neighbours have thought proper to play upon them.

The eaſe, the gentleneſs, the ſweetneſs of manners which we find in the polite nations, are ſeldom poſſeſſed, even amongſt the higher ranks of the people in HOLLAND, though we often meet with an exceſs of complaiſance: nor is this at all ſurpriſing if we conſider that men devoted to arts of gain from their earlieſt life, can with difficulty be formed to a true taſte of ſociety. The amuſement in which the DUTCH have the greateſt pretence to delicacy, is that of gardening, for which ſome of them contract ſo great a paſſion, that I have heard there is a law reſtraining the price of tulip roots.

They are ſo well convinced that much diverſion not only creates expence, but calls off the mind from buſineſs and domeſtic duties, that in AMSTERDAM no public ſhows are permitted within the walls. After ſeven in the evening every perſon that paſſes the gates pays one ſtiver, and a coach five ſtivers; ſo that diverſions are taxed with this impoſt. It is not however very conſiderable, for the people have not a great paſſion for

for theatrical entertainments. In the winter time ſkeiting is their greateſt amuſement. Their retired manner of living is often the occaſion that the men when they affect a chearful, polite, and delicate turn of manners, are awkward; and when gay, wicked: the ſame remark holds with the women alſo, when they depart from a reſerved habit of life.

Their notions of religion, which muſt ever influence the manners of a people, are not very liberal; and though the practice of it is ſtrictly enjoined as a duty, it does not appear to be rendered delightful. I have heard an HOLLANDER ingenuouſly acknowledge, that their prieſts cannot be in any great reputation, for want of that politeneſs which is eſſential to all ranks of men in office in a civilized ſtate. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's remark is, "That if religion does more good in other places, "it does leſs hurt here."

The ſame author imputes the grandeur of their ſtate in a great meaſure to the modeſty and ſimplicity of their manner of living, which was the general faſhion among the firſt magiſtrates in his time; and he adds, that he never ſaw the great penſioner DE WIT in a coach, nor his cloathing, equipage, houſe or furniture, beyond that of any private merchant.

It is not difficult to conceive, that conſtant application to buſineſs, and indefatigable induſtry not diverted by any of the warmer paſſions, nor by the habit or temptation of pleaſure, ſhould produce that degree of wealth, power and influence, at which the HOLLANDERS once arrived, and of which, with reſpect to individuals, they may yet boaſt.

With regard to the air or water of the NETHERLANDS, the elements are in no country more blended than in this. The abundance of water muſt neceſſarily affect the air: at ſome ſeaſons of the year, many of their moſt fertile ſpots are overflowed, which renders both land and water diſagreeable. Thoſe DUTCHMEN who know little but of their own country, aſk how we manage in ENGLAND to keep our cattle in the field during the winter. Turf, which is reckoned much inferior to wood or coal,

coal, is the chief article of fewel to the inhabitants. But this land of moiſture does not ordinarily prevent the people from enjoying a moderate ſhare of health, though their lives ſeem to be ſhorter than with us in GREAT BRITAIN. There are ſeveral inſtances of remarkable recoveries in HOLLAND, from conſumptive caſes, which I believe are not ſo general among them as in ENGLAND. The reaſon of this I impute not ſo much to their climate as their careful manner of cloathing. In ENGLAND people too often dreſs, feed, and expoſe themſelves to heat and cold, without any regard to difference of conſtitution. A careleſs indifference in this reſpect muſt be often attended with the ſame or worſe conſequences, than an injudicious ſollicitude.

The vapours ariſing from the canals in HOLLAND, affect the air in ſuch a manner that the fronts of the houſes near the water ſide are frequently diſcoloured in one night; this occaſions a particular attention to the outſide as well as the interior part of their buildings. The manner in which the DUTCH cloath themſelves, is a demonſtration how ſubject they are to rheumatic pains, neceſſity having taught them that kind of habit, which we are inadvertently apt to ridicule.

There are many HOLLANDERS who think judiciouſly, and, in ſome reſpects, live elegantly; but I believe few philoſophically. The common people are extremely booriſh: I have ſeen a boatman in a great city, though indeed the diſtinction of city and village is very inconſiderable, ſtrut up and down a room with his hat on, his hands on his hips, and, with a careleſs air of inſolence, ſpit at the feet of a gentleman who was treating him with civility, and giving him an opportunity of gaining a guinea for an inconſiderable ſervice. This ſort of conduct they miſtake for liberty [b],

[b] Foreigners make complaint alſo of the ill-manners of the common people in ENGLAND; but this is expreſſed rather by a libertine than a booriſh conduct; and though we have ſome ſavages in human ſhape, yet the general turn of our people is humane: to this purpoſe I knew an inſtance of a common fellow who inſulted a FRENCH lady in the ſtreet, by the name of FRENCH bitch. Before ſhe advanced many paces ſhe happened to fall, and the ſame man who had that moment treated her with ſuch unworthy language, was the firſt who aſſiſted her in riſing, addreſſing her with great complaiſance in theſe words, 'I hope madam you have not hurt yourſelf.'

whilſt

whilſt their knowledge is confined to the ordinary means of gain, and the gratification of the calls of nature. Cheeſe, beer and tobacco are the joys which ſeem to crown the labours of the common people: geneva, to which they are well known to be no enemy, and which is not altogether improper to their climate, contributes much to the circulation of their blood; but they are apt in their cups to mix cruelty with ruſticity.

As they are not ſo much improved in their ſentiments as our common people, neither are they ſo ſtrong, active and capable of labour; this may be imputed, not only to the different genius's of nations, but alſo to the ſuperiority of our climate, and the different nature of the liberty we enjoy: add to this that the animal food which our common people eat, is incomparably more ſtrengthening than their fiſh, cheeſe, milk and grout, to which the poverty of their own produce confines them. It is true the UNITED PROVINCES abound in paſture lands; but cheeſe being ſo great an article of commerce, as ſome of the inhabitants cannot, others will not, afford themſelves fleſh for their diet. A moderate uſe of animal food would, in all probability, tend to the prolongation of their lives in that moiſt climate.

Conſtancy of employment, coldneſs of complexion, and perhaps the nature of their food alſo, may contribute to their being but little given to amour. The women, I ſpeak not of the higher ranks, adorn their heads with gold lace, and other ſuch ornaments, but with more frugality than generally practiſed in GERMANY. Except a few court ladies, they have not much taſte or delicacy in their manners. There are ſome of good complexions, but not many beautiful. Their teeth in general are bad, probably owing to the uſe of hot liquors, as tea, coffee, &c. I obſerved particularly at SAARDAM, that many of the women are pale and languid, and not a few crooked. They acknowledge that moſt of their children, till the age of eight or ten years, are ſickly; and indeed the women ſeem ſo inceſſantly employed in cleaning their houſes, and other offices, of which ſome are in common with their huſbands, that one would imagine they did not afford themſelves reſt enough to breed children, or at leaſt not

time

time to ſupport them when they were born. The women in this country ſeldom breed after the age of thirty. As the men are remarkable for the many breeches they wear, the women, for the moſt part, uſe pots with live coals of wood or turf, which they ſet into boxes bored full of holes, and put under their petticoats, to warm themſelves in cold weather; this is not only apt to make them old from the waiſt downward before the time ordained by nature, but the ſmell of the coals is offenſive. Upon the whole they have a proverbial ſaying, that the dirtieſt piece of furniture in the houſe of a DUTCHMAN is his wife.

Whether it is the remains of any jealouſy which they have retained ſince the time of the SPANISH government, or the mere effect of prudence, I could not help obſerving that many of them will not mention their wives in company, nor do they ſeem pleaſed that others ſhould ſpeak of them; though in the moſt reſpectful terms. One would imagine where the laws are ſo favourable to the women, as to give them at leaſt an equal ſhare of dominion with their huſbands, that converſation ſhould be more free: this conduct however may be imputed to that incommunicative manner of life, in which the lower and middle ſorts of the people are bred up.

It is no uncommon thing in HOLLAND, except among thoſe who have travelled and acquired ſome generoſity of behaviour, to treat ſtrangers by whom they get nothing, with that ſort of reſerve as plainly indicates that you may go about your buſineſs as ſoon as you pleaſe. But there is nothing which lowers the reputation of the HOLLANDERS, or reflects greater diſhonour on them than their cruelty. This does not ariſe ſo much from fiery particles in their blood, or warm paſſions, as the love of money, witneſs their ſacrifices of human blood: but they have followed the example of their old maſters, by taking the ſame ſteps to ſupport themſelves in the EAST as the others did in the WEST INDIES. In this GREAT BRITAIN is diſtinguiſhed, no part of her greatneſs being owing to unwarrantable ſlaughter.

CHAP.

CHAP. L.

Of the preſent ſituation of the DUTCH, *and their partiality to* FRANCE. *Their prevailing opinions with regard to* GREAT BRITAIN.

IF we conſider a government of ſo complex a nature as that of the UNITED PROVINCES, in which ſuch a variety of intereſts and inclination are neceſſary to ſupport it in full force and efficacy; it is rather amazing how it has laſted ſo long, than that of late years it has tottered, and been in danger of ſubverſion. It is no mean entertainment to trace this republic to its origin. Hiſtorians ſeem to agree, that the people of which it is compoſed, ſo early as the time when the ROMAN commonwealth gave laws to a great part of the world, were in the higheſt degree impatient of any encroachments on their liberty.

Under PHILIP II. of SPAIN they groaned under heavy oppreſſions. Several formidable attempts were made from the year 1556 to 1579, to compel them to ſubmit to an arbitrary power, extended not to their lives and fortunes only, but alſo to their conſciences. Perſecutions have often called forth ſuch a degree of human ſtrength as ſeem to argue the interpoſition of the immediate hand of GOD. The treaty of MUNSTER in 1648, at length ſettled the independence of the republic: the deputies of the STATES were no longer denominated rebels by the SPANIARDS. The vigilance, ſobriety and induſtry of the DUTCH ſupporteth their revolt againſt the crown of SPAIN, and after many years ſpent in laborious trials of their own conſtancy, they formed at length that plan of government which now exiſts. How long it will laſt is hard to ſay; the foundation of it does not appear to be very ſtable. A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST IT SELF, CANNOT STAND. Whilſt theſe people are not agreed concerning their firſt magiſtrate, they will never inveſt him with power ſufficient to anſwer all the various exigencies to which the ſtate is ſubject.

It ſeems evident from their late conduct, from the preſent condition of that ſtate, and from the nature of their conſtitution, that they are in no

happy, or ſecure ſituation. Hence they require the help of a firſt magiſtrate, whoſe power, though limited, ſhall be ſufficient to conſtitute him the umpire of all their interior conteſts, and who, by a proper direction of their ſtrength, may reſtore them to a REAL independency. Their conduct in the late war was a demonſtrative proof that themſelves conceived their ſecurity was founded in the claſhing intereſt of other princes, and that their country was not in ſuch great danger as we commonly apprehended, becauſe the diviſion of the ſpoil would create difficulties among the neighbouring powers.

A free ſtate, whoſe inhabitants are rich, ſurrounded by powerful neighbours, able to ſupport a conſiderable military force, and yet unwilling to ſupport it, can hardly be preſumed to exiſt long without ſome change: at leaſt we may conclude that ſuch a ſyſtem of politics as that of GREAT BRITAIN contending for the independency of the UNITED PROVINCES, in the ſame manner as in the laſt war, without their exerting their own ſtrength, cannot laſt long. Suppoſing that their preſervation was not the ſole motive on which we ſet out, yet it muſt be ever allowed, that if FLANDERS becomes a prey to FRANCE, and the barrier is loſt, the liberty of the DUTCH is at the mercy of the FRENCH: and what would have become of the barrier in the laſt war, had it not been for GREAT BRITAIN, it is not difficult to determine.

If the DUTCH are incapable of defending themſelves; if their ſtate, though in its early period, is grown decrepit, and needs a ſupport; can GREAT BRITAIN afford ſuch a ſupport, or muſt it come from another quarter on the continent? What quarter is hard to ſay. It ſeems more conſiſtent with their intereſt to change to ſome more happy form of government, by a conſent of the people, than to run the hazard of being compelled to change for the worſe, by ſome bold invader: and if their independency is of ſuch moment to us, as it may be preſumed they imagine, it might be more our intereſt to aſſiſt them in that change, than follow ſuch a ſyſtem as that of the late war. The DUTCH are tenacious of their liberty, but ſeem to fall into a belief that they need not provide the means of ſupporting that liberty, as their good friends the

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ENGLISH, and other allies, will do that buſineſs for them. We may ſee what notions Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE had of this republic, when he ſays, "Thus theſe ſtomachful people, who could not endure the leaſt exerciſe "of arbitrary power, or impoſitions, or the ſight of any foreign troops, "under the SPANISH government, have been ſince inured to all of them, "in the higheſt degree under their own popular magiſtrates, bridled with "hard laws, terrified with ſevere executions, environed with foreign "forces, and oppreſſed with the moſt cruel hardſhip, and variety of taxes "that was ever known under any government." It might be expected, that the remembrance of theſe calamities, which did not ariſe from us, but from our common enemies, ſhould, whilſt that common enemy is in the ſame ſtrength and inclination, bind them to us in the ſtrongeſt friendſhip; but this is plainly not the caſe.

Politicians ſeem to agree, that the intereſt of the MARITIME POWERS is mutual: that is, ſo long as they in fact continue to be MARITIME POWERS: and ought not the UNITED PROVINCES to continue a maritime power, if they mean to ſupport an independency? The union of ſuch maritime powers might be a counterpoiſe to that of the houſe of BOURBON: whereas if they aim at a counterpoiſe entirely by land, it is plain they muſt go much farther for it, engage in deeper expences, and complex treaties; and take ſhare in the quarrels of other powers, which muſt render the welfare of their ſtate the more precarious. Beſides, as commerce naturally encreaſes with naval ſtrength; ſuch union might prove the beſt means of checking the rapid progreſs of the trade of other countries, and particularly that of FRANCE, whenever it ſhould prove prejudicial to this mutual and natural intereſt. However conſiſtent this ſyſtem may be, the fact is, that in the laſt war, either the timidity of the DUTCH; the artifices of FRENCH miniſters, who diſguiſed this matter; or perhaps that PERSUASION which is apt to conquer all mankind, inclined them more to ſee GREAT BRITAIN ruined, than erecting new trophies on the ruin of the FRENCH commerce. This is very certain, that the DUTCH looked with a jealous eye on the BRITISH trade, concluding that every ſtep it was advanced, their own would be thrown back.

If our intereſt was really mutual, they were as blind to their own advantage and ſecurity as averſe to ours: and if it was not mutual, the ſyſtem of our politics was founded on a fallacy, which THEY eaſily ſaw through. It is a truth too obvious to be denied, that the DUTCH do receive ſome PRESENT advantages by their commerce with FRANCE; and this was one great obſtacle to our detaching them from that deluſive connexion. As to the FUTURE, it does not ſeem to be the faſhion of mankind to conſider; their thoughts are abſorbed in preſent gratifications. If this were not the caſe, I preſume the thing would have taken a different turn, and remoter conſequences would have been examined into.

If the game had been played fair, the queſtion is, whether the bulk of the people of the UNITED PROVINCES would not have ſeen, that no point can be more eſſential to them, than to keep the wings of the houſe of BOURBON ſo well clipt, as to put it out of her power to fly away with their country, their riches, and their commerce; for probably they muſt ALL go together: it is impoſſible they can be the ſame people under an arbitrary monarchy.

Notwithſtanding all the artful evaſions, and ungenerouſneſs of the DUTCH in the late war; it is hard to ſay what had been their fate, if BRITISH valour, and BRITISH treaſure, had not been ſo much employed to keep FRANCE at bay. That the DUTCH ſet out upon falſe principles in the late war, I believe all the world will grant. Who can relate without ſorrow, the event of the battle of FONTENOY, when victory was ſnatched from us, not ſo much by our enemies, as by our friends? We had indeed reaſon to ſuſpect, that the DUTCH did not mean well to us: we knew their government was embaraſſed, and wore a double face. SOME of their miniſters were for fighting, OTHERS for a neutrality, and ALL for ſaving their money at the expence of their VERY GOOD AND GENEROUS FRIENDS AND ANTIENT ALLIES. At length they compromiſed the matter, and made war in parade, as an excellent expedient to ſave appearances, and to quiet the minds of their own people, that no deſperate attempt might be made to call the prince of ORANGE to the office of his anceſtors. Thoſe in

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office knew that ſuch a ſtep would eclipſe that authority, by means of which they had ſo long lorded it over the ſtate, and enriched themſelves and their families.

It is remarkable that our enemies, who knew the orders and inclination of the DUTCH, from a generoſity peculiar to ſoldiers, at the ſame time they exulted in our credulity, laughed them to ſcorn. We PULLED them indeed to the ſcene of action; but we could not PULL the trigers of their muſkets, nor ſecure their horſes from being KILLED, if they had engaged.

But what ſhall we ſay of the friendſhip and good intentions of the DUTCH at that time, if to this very day they avow they COULD not fight. Morally conſidered, nations are not accountable to nations for errors in politics; but they are anſwerable to each other for the non-obſervance of treaties. Whatever motives biaſſed the conduct of theſe republicans, the inference from real fact, cannot but raiſe an indignation in the breaſts of thoſe who are inclined to ſhed a tear to the manes of our brave countrymen, who fell in that unequal war. If the DUTCH had declared at that time that they WOULD not, or, which is the ſame, that they COULD not fight, and that their army was only for parade and obſervation; I preſume, in ſuch caſe, we could complain only of the inactivity of their AUXILIARY troops as ſtipulated by treaty. And the queſtion is, if, in ſuch caſes, the party failing is not ſubject to all conſequences. If this doctrine was proved good, the DUTCH might now owe us fifteen or twenty millions of pounds, with a further debt which they can never pay, the lives of fifteen or twenty thouſand of the braveſt troops in the world.

What ſenſe the people of HOLLAND had of their engagements to us, appears, in ſome meaſure, from their behaviour, when news arrived at the HAGUE of the battle of FONTENOY. It went current that we had deſerted the DUTCH, and left them to be cut in pieces; inſomuch that the inhabitants were highly incenſed, and exclaimed bitterly, as if the ENGLISH had compleated that ruin, which our conduct in the QUEEN's war, they ſaid, had almoſt produced. When the real fact was known, and the tables turned

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on them, though it afforded conſolation with regard to the ſafety of their army, the rulers of the STATE thought it neceſſary for THEIR own ſafety to retire out of the town: this was a tacit acknowledgment, that however diſpoſed the people might be to puſh on the war, they themſelves favoured the ſchemes of FRANCE.

To ſpeak diſpaſſionately of the conduct of the DUTCH, we may reflect on their ſpecious manner of reaſoning. "Did we deſire you," ſay they, "to make war, much leſs to bring it to our doors? And, after all, what "reliance could we make on you, when a handful of rebels in SCOT-"LAND occaſioned the demand of ſix thouſand of our beſt troops, at a "time when we moſt needed them ourſelves? If other powers do not "keep FRANCE within bounds; the UNITED PROVINCES may become an "eaſy conqueſt, in ſpite of all your endeavours to preſerve us." This excuſe carries with it ſome weight: but they forget that it was their conduct at FONTENOY which brought on thoſe conſequences; that their ſix thouſand men were of no uſe to us with regard to the rebellion; and laſtly, that the preſervation of the UNITED PROVINCES, in ſpite of the FRENCH partizans, became at length one great object of the war: there muſt then be an unaccountable defection in the hearts of DUTCHMEN, to allow this reaſoning to be good. The time may not be far off when they will ſollicit us to act in confederacy with them, and when they will not have any deluſive reſerves.

The preſent political conteſt, if we can with propriety ſay there is any conteſt, ſeems to be, whether, in caſe of another war, GREAT BRITAIN ought to ſend her native troops abroad; or confine herſelf to the water, and make her money, in a reaſonable proportion with other princes, fight her battles on the continent?

Happily for EUROPE, FRANCE is not able to ſupport a great army, and a great fleet alſo, for any length of time. But as we ſometimes ſee national efforts, which baffle all the ſyſtems of the moſt acute politicians; and as FRANCE may make a formidable figure both by land and ſea; can we conſiſtently neglect our land-forces? If it is neceſſary to preſerve the independency

pendency of the DUTCH; it may be alſo neceſſary to employ our troops, as well as our money, on the continent. It might be fortunate indeed to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem which would render a great land-force unneceſſary. If it is inconſiſtent for us to attempt the ſupport of great armies, and great fleets alſo, we may preſume that GREAT BRITAIN will adhere to the ſyſtem which renders that force leaſt neceſſary, which is moſt expenſive.

Embarkations of our land-men may ſometimes be neceſſary for ſuch purpoſes, as neither our ſhips nor money can execute without them; and in behalf of thoſe ſtates whom it is our duty, and may be our obligation by treaty to preſerve on the general principle of commercial intereſt. But where, and in what numbers, ſeems to be a point which the occaſion only can determine. I apprehend one rule of politics cannot ſuit all times, more than one medicine all diſtempers.

The ſending great armies abroad has been, among others, a means of involving BRITAIN in a very large debt. But it is alſo true, that FRANCE has been greatly impoveriſhed by her wars. That the latter has made vaſt acquiſitions by commerce within fifty years paſt, muſt be granted; but yet it is diſputed if ſhe is now ſo rich, compared with other STATES, as ſhe was in king WILLIAM's reign: and ſince money is the ſinews of war, we muſt reckon the ſtrength of STATES by their riches, compared with other STATES, as well as by their numbers, valour, and genius for war.

There are, I believe, ſome general maxims, which are neceſſary for every government to adopt, as far as they are practicable without adhering to a blind prejudice. If the naval force of GREAT BRITAIN is her proper and natural ſtrength, conſidering her ſituation, produce, and the genius of the people; will it not follow, that the more of ſuch ſtrength ſhe poſſeſſes, in proportion to other STATES, the greater will be her commerce, and conſequently her riches? And if ſhe is ſtrongeſt at ſea, may ſhe not command the ſource of FRENCH power, which is almoſt the ſole object ſhe has to fear?

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Enquiries after political knowledge ſoon create difficulties, which ſuggeſt that the ſtudy of politics is no vulgar taſk, though we talk of it ſo familiarly. Miniſters, like other men, are ſometimes biaſſed by their paſſions and prejudices, to commit abſurdities; but it is their duty to underſtand the intereſt of a nation, and their trade to manage it. Others ought to approve or condemn with moderation, as the ſureſt way to come at the truth, without confounding themſelves with the uſe of NAMES and WORDS, to which their ideas are not adequate.

CHAP. LI.

The author leaves the HAGUE. *A deſcription of* DELFT. *Of* ROTTERDAM, *its trade, and the* BRITISH *factory eſtabliſhed there. A ſhort account of* HELVOET, *and the preſent low ſtate of the* DUTCH *navy.*

THE 22d of October I left the HAGUE, and returning back part of the way on the ſame canal on which I came from LEYDEN, I arrived at DELFT in an hour, the diſtance being only three miles. The land here is low, and there is no particular object that ſtrikes the eye.

DELFT is ſurrounded by a conſiderable extent of flat meadow lands: this place, which is very antient, is well known for its earthen ware, which goes by that name. It is a very pleaſant town, and well peopled: the inhabitants are computed at above twenty thouſand. Its ſituation has invited ſeveral perſons of fortune and diſtinction to take up their habitations there; but the trade of the place is not conſiderable. It has however a chamber in the EAST-INDIA company, and a rank in the aſſembly of the STATES of the province of HOLLAND. This city was burnt down in 1536, and in 1654 the greateſt part of it was blown up by an accident of the powder-magazine taking fire; but theſe misfortunes have rather contributed to its beauty, than defects, as may be inferred from its preſent appearance.

From hence I departed for ROTTERDAM; the diſtance is hardly ſeven ENGLISH miles. This place may well be eſteemed next in rank to AMSTERDAM; and, in regard to GREAT BRITAIN, and the ſouthern trade of

of EUROPE, has many advantages beyond that city: the navigation of the MAESE being, without compariſon, more ſafe and commodious than that of the TEXEL: the air and the water are alſo better than in AMSTERDAM. The canals here being broad and deep, convey ſhips of burthen into the heart of the city, and exhibit a view of a flouriſhing trade. Being thus a rival in commerce to the metropolis, it is conſidered as an object of ſome jealouſy; but the power is, for the moſt part, in the hands of the merchants of AMSTERDAM. Many of the commodities imported here center chiefly in that city, conſequently the ſpirit of competition does not riſe very high. There is indeed buſineſs enough in both cities to furniſh employment to a great number of hands.

ROTTERDAM has a further advantage: the paſſage of the MAESE is generally open, particularly in hard winters, ſooner than that of the TEXEL. They have great magazines of EAST-INDIA goods, this city having its quota of that trade. Tobacco, corn, and rice are alſo conſiderable articles, and chiefly imported from GREAT BRITAIN: they have great quantities of tallow from IRELAND, for which they return flax, which is a commodity much cultivated in the UNITED PROVINCES, as it will bear a high rent of land, if properly conducted.

In this city is a very good exchange, where the merchants meet, and tranſact their buſineſs; it was finiſhed ſo late as the year 1736. Here are ſeveral public buildings of note; but the moſt remarkable is the great church dedicated to St. LAWRENCE, in which are the monuments of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, particularly of their moſt celebrated ſea-officers, among whom is that of admiral DE WIT. On the great bridge is a ſtatue of the famous ERASMUS, who was born in 1467 in a ſmall houſe very near to the ſtatue.

The BRITISH factory in this place is very conſiderable, and is, for the moſt part, compoſed of north BRITONS of the church of SCOTLAND, for which they have a church or meeting-houſe. During the war in FLANDERS under the duke of MARLBOROUGH, an epiſcopal church was built by the contribution of the ENGLISH officers, merchants, and

mariners; and this is ſaid to be the only regular epiſcopal church countenanced and eſtabliſhed, belonging to BRITISH ſubjects out of GREAT BRITAIN.

Mr. DAVISON, and ſeveral others of the factors, received me with great marks of regard and politeneſs, as well in conſequence of the ſeveral letters of recommendation, which my friends at AMSTERDAM had given me, as the hoſpitality for which the factory is diſtinguiſhed. Proviſions here are not cheap, though plenty. The factors live parſimoniouſly, after the manner of the country, without parade, but with great ſatisfaction and convenience. Expence, noiſe, and ſhew, are indeed but the ſhadows of pleaſure, to minds not ſpoiled by a habit of living in a croud, or in purſuit of trifling amuſements. The expence of eating and drinking, IN THE HIGHEST TASTE, as is ordinarily underſtood, generally ſerves but to remove us the farther from the happineſs we ſeek. The true end of theſe ſupports of nature, is better anſwered by a little, than much; by a diſh or two, rather than by a multiplicity; if we conſider what is due to health, to a clear underſtanding, to moderate paſſions, ſubmiſſive appetites; to a virtuous caſt of thought, and, in a word, to the true felicity of life.

The 27th I left ROTTERDAM; the moſt ſpeedy conveyance is ſaid to be to NEWSLUYS in a yatch, and from thence by land to HELVOET. It was my deſire to ſee the banks of the MAESE, I therefore preferred going all the way by water. There are many fertile and agreeable ſpots of land, but the whole did not anſwer the idea I had conceived of DUTCH induſtry, and knowledge of improvement as extended to every part[b]. HELVOET SLUYS is well known, as the port from whence the HARWICH packet boats ſet off on wedneſdays and ſaturdays. Though this is eſteemed one of the beſt harbours in the UNITED PROVINCES, yet the town is in itſelf very inconſiderable, having only three ſmall ſtreets, and a quay; the laſt is of ſome extent, and borders a great part of the harbour. From this place the iſland of GOREE appears to the ſouth, as a ſandy country, and ZEALAND is to the north of it.

[a] We muſt make great allowances, in all countries, with regard to thoſe lands contiguous to the ſea.

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Having often heard of the naval ſtrength of the UNITED PROVINCES, ſo formidable at ſea within little more than half a century; and as I had hardly ſeen a ſhip of war in any other port of theſe PROVINCES, I entertained ſome expectation of being agreeably ſurpriſed at HELVOET. However all the naval ſtrength which I could diſcover, amounted only to ten capital ſhips: theſe indeed appeared to be clean and in good order, but without any modern improvement in their ſtructure. In this particular the DUTCH are ſaid to be forty years behind the ENGLISH; nor ought we to be ſurprized, conſidering how great a decline there has been of DUTCH naval ſtrength. Whether this wondrous change is an effect of unavoidable calamities; or of voluntary national defection from their antient maxims of government, the reader will beſt judge from the modern accounts of theſe PROVINCES. It is not one hundred years ſince the DUTCH were able to vie with ENGLAND; and, towards the cloſe of the laſt century, even in the time of peace, they thought it their intereſt to employ between thirty-five and forty ſhips of war. Upon an emergency they were able to ſend a hundred ſail to ſea: it was computed, that the ſupport of thirty capital ſhips then coſt them annually only ſix millions of guilders [b]. Perhaps the time is not far off when they will be again obliged to fight at ſea, as well as by land: but if this power is departed from them, which ſeems to be the caſe, and GREAT BRITAIN left to take care of herſelf, the larger portion of commerce muſt fall to her ſhare, in order to the ſupport of a greater naval force. This conſideration ſeems to put us in mind of the preſent ſituation of GREAT BRITAIN, and the neceſſity of application to our marine; not only as a counterbalance to the accumulating ſtrength of FRANCE, but as an eaſy and natural expedient to compenſate for the inſufficiency of the DUTCH.

I had the pleaſure to find here a ſmall ſquadron, with four yachts, belonging to the crown of GREAT BRITAIN, under the command of lord ANSON, his BRITANNIC majeſty being expected to embark in a few days. This ſight gave me the more pleaſure, as I had not ſeen a BRITISH ſhip of war for near eight years before. It alſo afforded me an opportunity of

[b] 550,000 l. In ENGLAND reckoning five hundred men in each ſhip, it would be 720,000 l.

ſeeing ſome of my old acquaintances, particularly my honoured friend captain EDWARDS, who commanded the CHARLOTTE yacht. I had no time to accept his civilities, as I embarked in the packet a ſhort time after my arrival there.

The packets are built commodiouſly for paſſengers, and have about fourteen beds, or cabbins. In theſe veſſels there ſeems to be a certain degree of equality obſerved between the officers and men, which ſlackens the reins of diſcipline; and perhaps it is from the ſhortneſs of the paſſage, that there is not ſuch a regard to oeconomy, as one would expect where no merchandiſe are ſuppoſed to be carried. They talk much of the dangerous navigation between HELVOET and HARWICH; but at the ſame time confeſs, that only one packet has been loſt within the compaſs of any memory. The 28th, after a paſſage of twenty-two hours, the wind blowing hard from the eaſt, I landed at HARWICH.

PART

PART IV.

MORAL and POLITICAL REFLEXIONS

In relation to

GREAT BRITAIN.

CHAP. LII.

Reflexions on the uſe of travelling. The difficulty of taking up a political faith. Thoughts on public love in a free ſtate. Irreligion the ordinary ſource of national calamities.

THANKS to the goodneſs of providence, I am now returned into this HAPPY ISLAND; happy, in ſpite of all it's blemiſhes, compared with any country that I have yet been acquainted with. Perfect happineſs moſt certainly is not the lot of mortals on this ſide the grave: the portion of bliſs, which heaven has granted to this country, like the diſorders ariſing from ſanguine health, ſeems to create a ſatiety, even in thoſe who have a claim to the reward of virtue; as if we were to learn from hence, that there is yet a better country, whither we are travelling, where only the mind can poſſeſs an entire ſatisfaction.

The paſſage of a merchant from one country into another, in purſuit of commercial affairs, ought not to be conſidered in the ſame light, as the travels of a man of letters, in ſearch of arts or learning: but if in the courſe of their obſervation they have ſupported one common ſpirit of national affection; in proportion to their advantages of education and natural

tural abilities, the effect will be in a great degree ſimilar. Their own country muſt neceſſarily become the dearer to them, according as they diſcover the ſuperiority it enjoys in laws and government above other nations. Being thus excited by a generous emulation, inſtead of bringing home the vices of other countries, they will ſtrive to plant the virtues which are more peculiar to foreign climes, and not the proper growth of their own ſoil.

The ravages of time, the ruins of cities, the deſolation of countries, the tyranny of kings, the folly and iniquity of ſubjects in felling themſelves like beaſts to the ſlaughter; with all the pernicious effects of arbitrary power, muſt, in a ſerious mind, draw reflexions on the uncertainty of human affairs. By tracing theſe events, as near as poſſible to their ſource, the heart will be lifted up to the great author of nature, and adopt a conſiſtent principle concerning the GENERAL law of his moral government, by obſerving how vice is ever productive of miſery. Though the diſpenſations of his providence are oftentimes incomprehenſible, yet this ought not to weaken a ſteady perſuaſion, that virtue is in every region, and under every government, acceptable to him; "THAT WHAT HE DELIGHTS IN "MUST BE HAPPY," however the face of things may appear. And to check every fond preſumption of independency, though we graſp the fleeting moments, it is but as to-morrow when a curtain will be drawn over all the glories, as well as the miſeries of this world. In the mean while, whether we go abroad, or remain at home; enjoy a profuſion, or mediocrity of the gifts of providence, we are travelling to another country. Our nobleſt ſcience, our higheſt accompliſhment, our ſupreme felicity, is the knowledge and obſervance of that compaſs, whoſe needle points to our proper home; to thoſe regions, where millions of bleſſed ſpirits inhabit; where the eye will be ſatisfied with ſeeing, the underſtanding with knowledge, and the heart with delights, of which this world can give but faint ideas.

Whether hackneyed in the paths of gain and ambition; or purſuing the delights of a philoſophic and religious caſt of thought; life ſtill ebbs out much ſooner than we can eaſily diſcover, or deal fairly enough with

with ourſelves to acknowledge. But a day, an hour employed in the exerciſe of reaſon, and the practice of religion, is, upon the whole, preferable to an age waſted in fooliſh purſuits which riſe no higher than this world.

The ſoul is ever active: this world is its ſcene, as a prelude to the next; ſome ruling principle will always poſſeſs and lead us on to action. To be idle, and to be happy, is a contradiction: but however employed, he has no mean lot who glides through life in tranquil ſilence, though unobſerved. Perhaps he is one of the moſt happy of men; but all are not capable of this felicity.

We cannot reflect too often, that "True ſelf-love and ſocial are the "ſame;" yet conſidering man as a unity, SELF muſt, and ought to predominate. That is beſt for him which is moſt productive of his particular happineſs, with reſpect to the ſcene in which he takes his part; and in which he is beſt qualified to act with dignity, and with a due regard to both worlds. We are happy only when we are employed, and when ſome PARTICULAR OBJECT governs the leſſer paſſions and deſires. The wiſe author of nature certainly intended that this OBJECT ſhould be HIMSELF, and that all the various connections of our animal, our ſocial, our intellectual nature, ſhould ultimately terminate in him, and be ſubſervient to this end. Here then let our enquiry reſt: and ſince every day brings eternity the nearer, the contemplation of that eternity ought in all reaſon to encreaſe, as our hours are fleeting away. Without neglecting the ordinary courſe of his affairs, the merchant who is wiſe, will apply moſt vigilantly to that buſineſs in which his whole fortune is embarked.

As the peculiar happineſs of this government leads every thinking ſubject to diſcloſe freely his ſentiments, as far as he may judge them conducive to the national welfare, may I finiſh my book with ſome indulgence of this ſort? But in ſpeaking of public affairs, the mind ought, in a more peculiar manner, to be diveſted of all prepoſſeſſion, or it can anſwer no end but to adopt or confirm a principle, which, though true, loſes its charms by being founded in prejudice. If the fruit of wiſ-

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dom and virtue is the proper buſineſs of life, we ought to examine before we pronounce ſentence; and always to be diffident where we have not had opportunities of knowledge. I am very ſenſible that even general reflexions on political intereſt, belong to thoſe who are grown grey in experience, rather than for tranſient ſpectators.

The knowledge which I have of my own country being acquired abroad, and very limited, the affairs of it now appear to me in a great meaſure as matter of enquiry and curioſity, as well as intereſt. Things ever ſtrike us moſt while they are moſt new: the indulgent reader may conſider me yet as a traveller, who gives his thoughts of things as their novelty, their variety, or their ſingularity affect him; with ſome diſtinction however in regard to the motive, as well as ſome previous knowledge derived from the early impreſſions of youth.

It is the happineſs of a free ſtate, directed by good laws, that every member belonging to it is entitled to protection, ſo long as he obeys thoſe laws. The dignity he derives from hence raiſes him in his own eſteem: this is apt to render him inquiſitive in matters of which he is not qualified to judge, and is the cauſe of infinite follies. Even thoſe who are bred up in the knowledge of national affairs in ENGLAND, are generally ſwayed by their prejudices in favour of ſome perſon or party; in the mean while the number of the judicious and unprejudiced is ſo ſmall, that a man has hardly any opportunity of learning how to ſettle his mind.

How can it be imagined in an age in which corruption abounds, not in ENGLAND only, but in every country, that only virtuous men ſhould be in office? To rail at them, without conſidering the corruption of mankind in general, muſt render the complainant ſuſpected of diſcontent, becauſe he is not in office himſelf. When the influence of the crown preponderates, and the meaſures which are purſued do not immediately produce all the good we fondly expected; the ſubjects who do not receive any PECUNIARY ADVANTAGES from the government, for others have generally the wit to hold their tongues, are apt to cry out againſt the court, or againſt the miniſter, forgetting that the true

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ſource of national calamities, in a free ſtate, is the venality and impiety of the people.

It muſt be apparent to men who make any obſervations, that thoſe who bellowed loud for liberty, and were impatient to pull down thoſe in power, have generally given the ſame offence themſelves, when they became veſted with authority; whence it has been natural to conclude, that the people were capricious, and not capable of contentment, or, with ſome few exceptions, all equally corrupt; and changed their principles, or their conduct, with their outward condition.

Be this as it may, it is ſurpriſing to me how little the people of this iſland generally ſeem to know of their own advantages and happineſs. Complaints are ſo often the ſubject of diſcourſe, even among the more ſober part, that one would imagine the ſtate was under the greateſt diſtreſs, and in imminent danger of ruin. "How great, ſay they, are the emoluments "of offices, and how little is done for them! vanity and ambition, and a "devotion to luxury, reign in the breaſts of THOUSANDS; and the rob-"bery of their country by every baſe artifice, is either openly countenan-"ced and protected, or connived at and left unpuniſhed; whilſt the free-"dom eſtabliſhed in the original plan of this government, exiſts in little "more than a name. To one perſon who even pretends to love his "country, there are a hundred who are cheriſhed, if not openly applaud-"ed, by their friends or confederates, in conſequence of their fortune or "addreſs in pillaging the public. The way of doing this with dexterity "and addreſs, is a ſcience of the moſt profitable kind. Shall we draw a "curtain over our nakedneſs, and hide our ſhame? Alas it is too appa-"rent to be an object of concealment! Foreigners ſee it, and will con-"temn us till they perceive a change in our condition, by the exertion of "national virtue. And what ſatisfaction ought it to afford us, if other na-"tions are more vain and abandoned than this? Do we deſire to put on "the ſame kind of chains as they wear, and with all the advantages of "our glorious conſtitution become yet more wretched than they? Things "are come to that paſs, that if this nation does exiſt, it muſt firſt fall a "ſacrifice to venality, and riſe again out of its own aſhes. Are we not

" eighty millions in debt, and conſequently is not our credit plunged deep? " We are threatened with a war in a few years, but what meaſures are " taken to reduce that debt, and enable us to ſupport a war? 'Tis hard to " ſay what all this will come to. Obſerve the conduct of ſome men of " the greateſt quality in the kingdom; perſons who in MANY reſpects are " worthy of great honour and eſteem; their rank and fortune ſet them in " a point of view to make their examples of the greateſt moment; and " YET theſe men indulge themſelves in a paſſion for GAMING, in viola- " tion of thoſe very laws they made themſelves, and by which the ſtate " is to be ſupported. What can afford more delight to an ambitious " FRENCHMAN, than to ſee ſuch men promote a contempt of our " own laws by the weight of their example? If the GREAT amuſe " themſelves with unlawful games, the LOWER CLASSES of the people " will have THEIRS alſo, and the breach of laws muſt terminate in our " SHAME, our DISHONOUR, our DECLINE, our RUIN. Nor will our " ſeeming affluence avail us, if by gradations of ſplendid infamy, our " very leaders conduct us into that ſlavery, under which almoſt every na- " tion of the world already mourns."

Now what impreſſions ought a man to receive upon hearing ſuch ſort of complaints? Are they true in the whole, or in part? Are they the effects of PARTY ZEAL, of PREJUDICE, of a natural propenſity in the people of this country to murmur, notwithſtanding ALL the GOOD they enjoy; or a want of that very national love which is the ſubject of complaint; or in ſhort, is it a compound of all theſe? Under our preſent circumſtances, and the riches and liberty which we really enjoy, complaints can mean no more nor leſs than this; that we are become ſo weak as not to diſcern our own intereſt, or ſo vicious as not to regard it any further than the preſent momentary gratification. If this be true in any degree, the evil is rather increaſed than diminiſhed by ſuch liberal complaints. Some may talk in this manner, from an honeſt reſentment of national vices; yet it is to be doubted, whether their reſentment is not blended with a ſhare of that very immorality which is the ſubject of complaint. That we poſſeſs a great deal of virtue is as clear as that we are a free people.

But

But that we have not virtue enough to be ſo formidable, or ſecure as providence ſeems to invite us to be, is the complaint of thoſe who wiſh well to their country: perhaps it is equally true alſo; though it cannot be demonſtrated ſo eaſily as preſumed. Surely it is a fault to indulge ourſelves in complaints at a venture, and to fling at men in public life, though we are tender of private characters.

If to rob a nation by colluſive or injurious practices, is an atrocious crime, with what conſiſtency can we believe that thoſe who paſs for honeſt men have been guilty of it? We certainly ought to be tender in our accuſations of this kind. Credulity does not argue any ſtrength of judgment: the virtue of the mind ever riſes or falls, with the charity which we cheriſh or ſuppreſs.

To conſider things and perſons according to the common ſenſe and reaſon of mankind, "There are few, very few, ſays a great author [c], who "have the OPPORTUNITY, and the WILL, and the ABILITY to repre- "ſent things TRULY. Beſide the matters of fact themſelves, there are "many CIRCUMSTANCES which before ſentence is paſt, ought to be "known and weighed, and yet ſcarce ever CAN be known but to the per- "ſon HIMSELF who is concerned. He may have other views, and ano- "ther ſenſe of things than his judges have; and what he UNDERSTANDS, "what he FEELS, what he INTENDS, may be a ſecret confined to his "own breaſt." If this is generally true in common life, it muſt often hold, with regard to thoſe who are charged with the GOVERNMENT OF A NATION: their taſk requires GREAT labour and abilities; and proper allowance muſt be made for the imperfections of human nature, eſpecially with regard to the fallacies of men's judgments. Hence if we ought to be ſlow in believing injuriouſly of mankind in general on the authority of dubious reports, or by opinions drawn from conſequences, without regard to the motives of action: by the calumnious echo of words againſt men in high office, we are very ſubject to err with regard to our morals, as well as our judgment. If our complaints prevent that unanimity on

[c] WOOLASTON on the religion of nature.

which the good of every ſtate depends, we may imagine ourſelves to be patriots, and yet do an injury to our country.

In private life, a diſpoſition inclined to the ſubmiſſive, is not that which makes the greateſt eclat; but it certainly is moſt agreeable to the dignity of human nature, becauſe it was practiſed by HIM who was the great pattern of human perfection. In ſpite then of the ſuggeſtions of pride, this rule of conduct muſt be the moſt amiable. In order to be free, is it neceſſary to be querulous or turbulent? Freedom muſt ariſe from a ſteady, even principle, a determined reſolution not to offend againſt our own minds, or, in other words, to adhere to what is right. To this we may add vigilance and care in our reſpective ſtations, that thoſe who are our immediate guardians take no ſteps deſtructive of our ſafety.

Our compaſſion for HUMAN INFIRMITIES, is generally in proportion to the degree of knowledge we have of HUMAN NATURE. This conſideration in GOOD MINDS, will check the ſpirit of national complaint upon trivial evidence, and conſequently reſtore a greater national virtue. If thoſe hours ſpent in political ſatyr, were applied to the cultivation of knowledge and virtue, even granting there is frequent occaſion of complaint, what good might we not expect? Among the lower claſſes of the people, COMPLAINTS are ſeldom without great ignorance; and thoſe of the higher rank generally include a ſecret deſire of the emoluments poſſeſſed by the very perſons who are the ſubjects of ſuch COMPLAINTS. And of whom ſhould we complain, but of ourſelves? What is our boaſted conſtitution? What our darling liberty, but that we cannot be ruined without our own conſent? Was the making complaints the characteriſtic of virtue, we ſhould then be our own panegyriſts; but ſtill they would anſwer little purpoſe till we brought that virtue into action. One vigorous and well concerted remonſtrance of a real evil, muſt be ever more effectual than a thouſand vague complaints.

If we conſider that this is a mixed government, and that the parts of which it is compoſed are numerous, we may indulge a jealouſy; but

but hard words can be warrantable only when the iniquity is flagrant. Let us call to mind the advantages we enjoy above any people in the world, and that the flaws in ſome characters and diſpoſitions, are hid by the luſtre of thoſe virtues and talents which ſhine forth in others. If we ever looked to our OWN rather than to our NEIGHBOURS faults, the ſtate would CERTAINLY be the better; for nothing is more plain than this, that every individual, who governs his life by the rules of right reaſon, contributes to the government of the kingdom. We all know that government muſt be maintained, power muſt be lodged ſomewhere. We know that we enjoy liberty; thoſe who doubt whether we are free or not, certainly do not know what ſlavery is.

The ſpirit of conteſt in the different branches of the legiſlative body of this iſland, ſeems to ſubſide; and yet it is remarkable, that the words "public debt" are no ſooner mentioned, than the people ſtart, as if they ſaw an apparition: talk of obedience to the laws, and they ſhake their heads and cry, "Alas, the laws are trampled upon." If this repoſe means an union of councils, it is a happy circumſtance with regard to the DEBT, as well as to that libertiniſm againſt which we have reaſon to complain. It cannot be preſumed that ſuch an union will decline into a ſupine negligence, much leſs be employed to diſtreſs the ſtate.

It may be obſerved further, that many of the people of this ISLAND, who have high notions of liberty, are offended at the name and power of a FIRST MINISTER, as one of the great officers of the ſtate is generally called. They figure to themſelves that his power is very extenſive; and, from an obſervation of the ſtrong connexions between his OFFICE and their own repreſentatives, imagine that he may do WHATEVER HE PLEASES: but as, in fact, he DOES NOT every thing they think is right; they conclude immediately, that he is omiſſive in his duty; purſues the gratifications of his own ambition; and therefore his power tends rather to deſtroy, than ſupport the common-wealth.

Opinions taken up in a hurry, and with prejudices, are hardly ever juſt, with regard to perſons, or things. A miniſter, who ſhould happen to be a man

a man of very great parts, and very great diſſimulation and ambition, is indeed an object of JEALOUSY; but if the people are true to themſelves, how can ſuch a man ſupport himſelf in his power? We muſt be the inſtruments of our own ruin whenever that happens. But, on the other hand, let us conſider this office in the hands of a man, who means well, whoſe ambition is apparently limited, and whoſe private character has nothing dangerous in it; and he will appear as neceſſary, as he is a valuable ſubject. Liberty, in the higheſt ſenſe, has been ideal ever ſince the crime of our firſt parents, we can only preſerve ſuch a portion of it as we juſtly dignify by that venerable name. To prevent perplexities in the councils of a nation, and irreſolution in the conduct of government, it is become neceſſary in ſome meaſure that there ſhould be, as I believe there is, in almoſt every department of the government, a perſon whom they call a LEADING MAN. This ſeems to be the natural effect of ſuperior talents, or ſuperior induſtry; ſome diſtinguiſhed power of doing good, or at leaſt a reputation of integrity and diſintereſtedneſs: theſe men are not however the lords, but the ſervants of the public; and ſo long as they behave with moderation, and in the general tenor of their conduct, act with a view to the good of ſociety, though with ſome imperfections, ought they not to be conſidered as uſeful, and even as eſſential to the well being of the ſtate? Thus the matter will reſt on the degree of vice or imperfection, that ſhould render a miniſter odious or diſagreeable; and in our eſtimate of ſuch defects, we muſt compare MEN with MEN, and not with angels.

With regard to the legiſlative body of this nation, the firſt miniſter, for this is the term that all parties adopt, I preſume is a kind of repreſentative on behalf of the regal prerogative, and his office as ſuch is underſtood to reconcile the difficulties that may occur concerning the intereſts and inclinations of the ſovereign and his ſubjects. How any particular man arrives at this office, is as eaſy to comprehend, as that kings, like other men, chuſe ſuch inſtruments for their purpoſes as they think beſt; and ſometimes they chuſe with great propriety. If there was no ſuch perſon FOR the crown, it ſeems as if there would be one AGAINST it; and

might

might not HE hurt the conſtitution yet more, ſince it is a principle eſtabliſhed, that the ſtate muſt be ſupported by MONARCHICAL, though limited POWER?

All periods of time produce a numerous train of diſcontented ſubjects, ſome WITH, and many more WITHOUT reaſon. Partiality to our own faults is apt to make us aſcribe the evils we ſuffer, real or imaginary, to any cauſe, rather than to our own vices and imperfections. The compariſon of characters renders them odious or amiable; but we ought not, I think, to judge from a few choice ſpirits, but conſider what is the general turn of a people.

LIBERTY, national honour, or whatever idea of moral excellence charms us, never DID, nor never CAN exiſt long without virtue. Virtue is the only ſtable foundation on which the happineſs of a private man, a family, or a nation CAN be built. The experience of all ages proves, that every refinement foreign to this motive, muſt ultimately terminate in ruin. Vice may reign for a ſeaſon; but the ſupreme governor of the world will vindicate his authority: and though this does not always happen within the ſhort compaſs of human life, yet NATIONAL vices have been ever corrected by NATIONAL calamities, and I preſume ever will be ſo. It cannot poſſibly be otherwiſe in the nature of things; for if there is a GOD who governs the world, with reſpect to men religion muſt be the rule of that government. The coercive power of human legiſlatures can no more ſupport a ſtate without the ſuperior law of religion, than due order can be maintained where the judge is as corrupt as the criminal, or the father as vicious as his offending ſon. The hiſtory of the world proves this aſſertion, and I believe it is generally found true, that ſome evils which happen to the body politic, have a great analogy with wounds in the natural body; that is, that they prove extremely difficult to cure when the habit is bad, though they might otherwiſe be eaſily healed.

True politics are undoubtedly built on true religion: a nation long accuſtomed to be governed by laws founded in reaſon, and a defence of the rights of mankind, cannot ſubmit to any other, without the convulſive

vulſive pangs of expiring liberty. But it is as eaſy to conceive that any ſtate may be diſſolved by the immorality of the people, as that there are countries, which having once been free, now groan under arbitrary power. Let the miſeries of ſuch countries be truly known, and a free nation will tremble at every act of injuſtice that may produce them. What avails the ſuperiority of this conſtitution, if the virtue in which it is founded, does not continue to ſupport its influence? The notion of liberty would only ſerve to delude us with an imaginary phantom; the real excellency of it MUST ever be connected with the hearts and minds of the people correſponding with the laws; their knowledge and riches being only means ſubſervient to its ſupport.

Were we to loſe our VIRTUE, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, we muſt loſe our liberty alſo. The arbitrary power which prevails in ſome other nation, would be a compulſive means of employing their ſtrength to our ruin; whilſt our freedom of with-holding our aſſiſtance in ſupport of the commonwealth, might, by our acting contrary to the apparent deſigns of providence, prepare an eaſier way to their conqueſt, if we did not fall by our own hands. In proportion to the diſobedience of laws, divine or human, by the obſervance of which the conſtitution has been ſo long and ſo happily ſupported, it muſt tend to its diſſolution; for the contrary of that which ſet it up muſt throw it down again. I think nothing can be more demonſtrable than this; if LIBERTINISM is carried to a certain degree, the COERCIVE power muſt become ARBITRARY, in the rigid ſenſe of that word. A nation which has not virtue enough to be ruled by the laws of reaſon, muſt ſubmit to military force, as is now the caſe of much the greateſt part of the world. Thus LIBERTY ceaſes, and when that is gone, it is no impropriety to ſay the nation is UNDONE. Has ever ſo formidable a ſtate as this fallen but under the weight of its own vices? Great monarchies have been diſſolved only by great corruption and civil diſcord; ſo that the Almighty has certainly annexed temporal felicities to nations, as well as eternal rewards to men, in conſequence of their virtue.

I hope

I hope this nation will continue great and happy, till TIME ſhall end his reign; but if the inſcrutable wiſdom of providence has ordained the period of BRITISH happineſs to draw to an end, by any rule of his government of which we have no experience, we muſt ſubmit to the decrees of heaven: but as it will ever be in our power, I am ſure it ought to be in our choice, to welcome an HONOURABLE DEATH, rather than INGLORIOUS CHAINS. If we DO fall, our hearts ought to bleed as victims to liberty and virtue.

The name of a free ſtate has ſomething divine lodged in it: whilſt EVERY ONE is ſollicitous to preſerve EVERY ONE, they perform the office of a guardian angel. On the other hand, where public ſpirit ceaſes to prevail in the minds of a people; how can they long ſubſiſt in that ſtate without arbitrary power? The notion of a public ſpirit cannot be confined; its object is ages paſt, and it looks forward to the verge of time. We have no certainty how long the world will laſt, and little can we preſume on the exiſtence of a particular nation, however wiſe the government of it may be: but how much greater is the probability of that exiſtence than of the duration of any particular man's life? Man, as conſidered ſeparate from the community, is in the moſt emphatical ſenſe "a thing of nought, his time "paſſes away like a ſhadow:" but with regard to the duties of ſociety he not only exiſts as long as TIME, but is partaker of a glorious immortality.

What conſtitutes the greatneſs or goodneſs of a man but his regard to the ſociety? or why is a prince called GOOD, and his people ready to offer themſelves as VICTIMS for his ſafety, but as he honours, loves, and reſpects the community of which he profeſſes to be the guardian?

The preſent and future happineſs of individuals, as well as the felicity of the ſtate, are all intimately dependent on each other. True politeneſs is but humanity refined, which ultimately centers in CHARITY; PUBLIC LOVE is but the ſame CHARITY adapted to the dignity and proſperity of the community of which we are members. A free government is moreover the ſtate of nature, with regard to the equality of men

and their common rights: PUBLIC LOVE cannot be ſeparated from the idea of ſuch a ſtate; and as the notion of this love implies a deſire of the virtue and TEMPORAL felicity of men, it is analogous with that charity which the ALMIGHTY has appointed as the GREAT RULE of conduct, and WITHOUT WHICH he has given mankind no title to ETERNAL happineſs.

The liberty for which we pretend to be ready to die, neceſſarily includes the love of poſterity; but an immoderate tenderneſs of ourſelves, on the NARROW PRINCIPLE of a vicious ſelf-love, is injurious to poſterity. Upon this NARROW PRINCIPLE it is, that we do not conſent to a ſmall change of our manner of life, that would enable us to ſupport the ſtate in greater ſafety, reputation, and ſplendor. Without a ſubmiſſion to ſome acts of ſelf-denial, we can neither be politically nor morally virtuous; we cannot ſupport ſuch an equality of ſtrength, nor ſuch a conſiſtency of conduct, as are eſſential to the maintenance of ſo admirable a conſtitution as ours; nor be enabled to guard againſt the over-bearing inſolence and ſuperior numbers of our enemies. It muſt needs be, that either we are not aware of the end of the courſe we run; or we do not mean what we ſay, when we talk of ſpilling our blood in the cauſe of liberty. If the former, we only want conſideration: If the latter, we want EVERY THING for which life ought to be deſirable.

It is a very familiar, but no leſs juſt thought, which we find in a late celebrated writer[a], in alluſion to the preſent ſtate of things in this ISLAND. There have been times of much greater danger than the preſent; yet if we conſider what the ordinary conſequences of human actions are, and by what means nations, yet more formidable than this, have come to ruin, we ſhall underſtand the force of what the author has remarked: "From their[b] railleries, on the barbarity and miſery of our "ISLAND, one cannot help reflecting on the ſurprizing fate and revolu- "tion of kingdoms: how ROME, once the miſtreſs of the world, the ſeat "of arts, empire, and glory, now lies ſunk in ſloth, ignorance, and pover-

[a] Dr. MIDDLETON's life of CICERO. [b] Meaning the antient ROMANS.

" ty; enſlaved to the moſt cruel, as well as to the moſt contemptible of " tyrants, ſuperſtition, and religious impoſture; whilſt this remote country, " antiently the jeſt and contempt of the polite ROMANS, is become the " happy ſeat of liberty, plenty, and letters, flouriſhing in all the arts and " refinements of civil life; yet running perhaps the ſame courſe, which " ROME itſelf had run before it; from virtuous induſtry to wealth, from " wealth to luxury, from luxury to an impatience of diſcipline and corrup- " tion of morals; till, by a total degeneracy and loſs of virtue, being " grown ripe for deſtruction, it fall a prey at laſt to ſome hardy oppreſ- " ſor; and, with the loſs of liberty, loſing every thing elſe that is valu- " able, ſink gradually again into it's original barbariſm."

Human nature being ever the ſame, to form a juſt idea of things, we muſt trace them to their fountain. Self-preſervation is the firſt and ſtrongeſt law in nature. What is our duty in obedience to this law? We know that a nation is compoſed of many individuals, who have one common intereſt; that the different ranks, employments, and circumſtances of a people, are only means eſſential to the ſupport of the public; and that every condition of life has its peculiar happineſs, as well as miſery. Providence has been indulgent to us all; do we move on this great plan, and according to the orders of that providence? Do we not rather vie with each other, not who ſhall be wiſeſt, but who ſhall excel moſt in vanities and expenſive follies; and thus deviating from the great principle laid down, at leaſt, PREPARE a way for ruin?

CHAP. LIII.

The prevalency of example. The great riches and advantages which this ISLAND *enjoys. A militia proper as the guard of theſe national bleſſings.*

IT is a general, and perhaps juſt complaint, that whilſt we aim at imaginary perfection in theory, our real conduct falls ſhort of the virtue that is practicable, and within our reach. Superior opportunities of know-

ledge ought to produce ſuperior degrees of virtue: and can it be expected, that the lower claſſes of the people will be virtuous, whilſt the higher neglect to inſtruct them by their example? The reformation of manners called for by one part of the nation, and univerſally acknowledged to be neceſſary, muſt then be moſt countenanced by perſons in the moſt eminent life; a gradation to the lower claſſes will be eaſy and familiar.

Under the laws and the ſovereign, perſons of high rank and great fortunes are the parents and guardians of the people: in their hands more immediately is depoſited that glorious plan which our great anceſtors have tranſmitted to us: if THEY are not careful to preſerve it from violation, what are we to expect from the DREGS of the people?

Cuſtom and imitation generally preſcribe and ſupport the rule of men's conduct; and what have been the conſequences of the modern cuſtom of following a CONTINUED ROUND of amuſements by perſons of diſtinction of both ſexes, but idleneſs and vice of every denomination among the lower claſs? The preſent faſhionable manner of life, to minds yet unformed, muſt, in the very nature of things, enervate that firm and ſerious caſt of thought, which is the true ſource of virtue and public love. When the ſoberer duties of life become as things accidental, and which we have no inclination to attend to, it ought not to be expected, that the intereſt of the community will be regarded If the duty we owe to one private family be irkſome, what muſt be the conſideration of that which we owe to a million of families? If religion is the true foundation of virtue in queſtion; will it not ſtartle us to think of the inconſiderable number of opulent families in this ISLAND, that inculcate the FEAR OF GOD in the minds of their numerous dependents, as a principle eſſential to the well-being of the ſtate?

Heaven has been indulgent to men, by endowing them with an imitative faculty; though our perverſeneſs often converts that faculty into a curſe. Example can certainly make ſaints or devils; and every day's obſervation muſt convince us, that there is a generous pride in human nature, which perpetually carries us to worthy actions when the

the pattern is ſet before our eyes: eſpecially if by a ſkilful conduct it is brought down to the level of our comprehenſions. Nothing can ſtrike more forcibly on the minds of the lower orders of men, than the perſonal attention, and religious, as well as humane conduct of the rich, the wiſe, the noble, in that vaſt ſcene of action, the public good. It is this which affords infinite entertainment to the different diſpoſitions and capacities of men, particularly of thoſe whom providence, by a liberal indulgence, has, in a more peculiar manner, appointed for this great work. The meaſures of compulſion, in a free ſtate, cannot, in all reſpects, quadrate with the minds of the common people, more than with perſons in high life. Public love, ſo little underſtood in arbitrary governvernments, muſt be a free effort of the mind, and brought into action by the force of a virtuous example.

It is undoubtedly true, in the preſent ſtate of mankind, that the pure dictates of reaſon and religion are inſufficient to the ſupport of any ſtate, without the coercive power of human laws; the aſſiſtance of thoſe laws muſt be frequently called in; and happy is that people, who are obedient to them; but ſtill example will never loſe its force, whilſt human nature continues the ſame.

I have often heard this nation deſcribed, as a country where no-body[a] regards the laws. Whatever degree of truth there may be in this harſh imputation, it is certain that numbers are obliged to ſubmit to them; or the gallows would not exhibit ſo frequent and ſo hideous a ſpectacle! How ought we to endeavour, by every art of EXAMPLE and PERSUASION, to do that which EXPERIENCE evinces cannot be effected by FORCE?

It is really amazing to conſider, how much the lower claſſes of the people are TAUGHT to break the laws of this country. The fact is, that the end propoſed by many of the laws is continually defeated; and that by means

[a] The conduct of ſome of our people has ſometimes brought to my memory a converſation of no antient date, between a certain perſon of diſtinction and a POLISH lord; the latter maintained that the POLES enjoyed the moſt liberty of any people in the world, and might be properly denominated the only free nation: the other replied, that he knew a people ſuperior to the POLES, meaning the KHALMUCKS; for, ſays he, theſe may not only kill, but alſo eat one another.

so REFINED, that, one would imagine, here were people, who make the evaſion of laws a regular ſtudy, and in which they acquire a greater proficiency, than others in making laws. Is it the excellency or defect of this conſtitution, that the legiſlature is ſo tender, in puniſhing offenders for baſe ſubterfuges and equivocations, in regard to the laws?

In conſequence of the common people being thus TAUGHT the ART of violating laws, liberty is frequently converted into licentiouſneſs, or at leaſt a neglect of that conduct which the laws require for the GOOD of the WHOLE COMMUNITY. Whatever they do not find for their PRIVATE CONVENIENCE, they are apt to think a violation of their freedom. Thus they neglect the cultivation and improvement of their manners; and hence it follows that foreigners are apt to obſerve, that the LIBERTY of ENGLAND is confined to thoſe who have no property [b].

To trace theſe leſſer evils to their ſource, we ſhall find they ariſe from others, which are of greater moment, but paſs uncorrected. Can the artful defeat of the intention of the legiſlature be a ſubject of wonder, when the informer is held, in ſome degree, infamous: here alſo the want of example ſeems to threaten us. Informations have, no doubt, been often proſtituted to villainous purpoſes; hence the common people, who have no immediate ſhare in making laws, adopt it as a kind of principle of honour to conceal the tranſgreſſion of them [c]. Men of edu-

[b] I remember the ſtory of an ENGLISH gentleman, who, being juſt come from PARIS, complained loudly of the inſolence of the footmen in LONDON, and wiſhed to ſee ſome of them pulled from behind their maſter's coaches. His father, who was a MASTER of the GREAT SCIENCE of liberty, reproved him, by obſerving, that though it was true, many of theſe men were very inſolent, this abuſe ought to be regarded as a natural effect of liberty in vulgar minds; that the remedy of this might be worſe than the diſeaſe; for the authority which ſhould extend to pull the footman from BEHIND the coach for ſuch offences, might alſo pull the maſter OUT of it. In oppoſition to this inſtance of abuſed liberty, what ſhall we ſay of the inſolence of arbitrary power, where ſervants partake of the authority of their maſters, and even in ſo polite a city as PARIS, men in high rank and office ſeem to delegate a kind of arbitrary power to their domeſtics; and perhaps the footmen there are frequently more inſolent than thoſe of LONDON.

[c] What falſe notions of honour prevail in ſome countries, even among the better ſort of people! I have been told in PORTUGAL, that, if the murderer of the father has taken ſhelter under the roof of the ſon, he thinks himſelf bound in honour, if not to proteſt him, to ſcreen him from juſtice, till he is ſafely removed from ſuch houſe which has been thus choſen as an aſylum.

cation

cation and ſentiment ſee the abſurdity of this proceeding: they know that, next to the law-giver, the moſt valuable member of the community is HE, who executes the laws with juſtice; and that HE, who, upon a principle of public love, will not be an idle ſpectator of the breach of them, comes in for the NEXT ſhare of honour. But whether it is from a jealouſy, that he who is charged with the execution of the laws will not perform his DUTY; or from a daſtardly fear of the reſentment of thoſe who tranſgreſs; how rare is it to hear of any information being lodged by a gentleman, though he is always ſuppoſed the beſt judge of the propriety of ſuch complaints, and his veracity moſt to be depended on?

Happy is it for us, that, if we will not exert ourſelves in ſetting good example, we are reſtrained in ſome polite miſchiefs! MEASURES are taken to fix ſome bounds to idleneſs and diſſipation at leaſt in that part of the day[f], which in all ages, and in all civilized countries in the world, has been ever devoted to inſtruction, to domeſtic oeconomy, and all the various duties of ſober life. It ought to be preſumed, that even the young and gay, will chearfully ſubmit to ſo ſalutary a law.

It is ſome conſolation alſo to reflect, that our deviations from virtue are not conſtant, we ſympathize with the inequality of our climate; ſo that ſuppoſing virtue at preſent to be in no great veneration, it may become faſhionable again. Nor ought the moſt ſerious to imagine, that we are without a large portion of it. To believe the contrary, is not only an injuſtice with regard to the people at large, but it would alſo weaken the cauſe of virtue, by miſrepreſenting the ſtrength of her forces.

If the motives derived from the fear of national puniſhment, do not inſpire us with a higher ſenſe of public love, yet we can never forget the pleaſures and advantages we enjoy. We ought to make theſe a motive to gratitude, ſo as to produce the ſame effect. Look round, and ſurvey the noble ſtructures, and the profuſion of their uſeful, their magnificent, their ſuperb appendages in this great metropolis. Conſider the flouriſhing ſtate of eve-

[f] Act for preventing houſes of diverſion being opened till five in the evening.

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ry branch of learning, art, and ſcience. Let us ſend our thoughts abroad to the numerous regions of the earth, to which our commerce is extended, and from whence ſuch ſources of wealth flow in upon us. Let us conſider what an encreaſe of riches our AMERICAN colonies produce, which is ſo much the more valuable, as it is more independent of the politics of other nations. But, above all, let us contemplate the beauteous face of this ISLAND, and the various delights it affords: the noble fabrics, with the ſeveral proud monuments of antiquity, in almoſt every part of ENGLAND: gardens unequalled by any in the world; mines rich in fuel and uſeful metals; hills and vallies, rivers and ſeas, all conſpiring to render us rich and happy. The ALMIGHTY ſeems to have made choice of this ISLAND as the great granary of EUROPE and AMERICA[e]. He has enabled us alſo to befriend mankind, in cloathing them in every quarter of the globe. Our wool is computed to near twelve millions when manufactured; this is four times the revenues of one of the greateſt empires[f] in the world, and which now ſeems to hold the balance of EUROPEAN power.

But when we conſider the admirable laws to which we are ſubject, the good government we are under, and the pure religion we profeſs, can we forbear exulting in the thought of being born members of ſuch a community, or ſending up our prayers in incenſe of gratitude, and begging that generations yet unborn may enjoy all theſe good things? Shall we however preſume to ASK this bleſſing; and at the ſame time INDULGE a

[e] I am not rightly acquainted with the computation of our growth of corn. The bounty allowed by Parliament in one year amounted to one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds at five ſhillings a quarter, which is one hundred and twenty eight thouſand tuns exported in one ſpecies of grain only. Some late political remarks in relation to taking off the bounty are much laboured upon this principle, that it makes bread, and conſequently labour, dearer; but there is not a word mentioned of the induſtry it has been the cauſe of promoting; of the improvement of the lands, nor that the cheaper we ſell our bread, like other commodities, the greater will be the demand abroad; and laſtly, that the price of labour, though great, might not be lowered to the benefit of the nation. It may perhaps prove more than is neceſſary; but it is a fact, that, among the manufacturers, they do much the leaſt work when proviſions are cheapeſt, and conſequently were proviſions cheaper, the end is defeated. Be this as it may, I am perſuaded, that if the national account was ſtated with regard to the bounty on corn, we ſhould find ourſelves very conſiderable gainers by this public expence.

[f] RUSSIA.

conduct

conduct derogatory to religion, and repugnant to theſe laws? With what conſiſtency CAN we aſk it, whilſt we know that immorality has ſubverted monarchies through all ages of the world? It muſt then be preſumed upon the whole, that every ſubject will ſtand ſelf-condemned, or ſhun thoſe actions which tend to hurt the community of which he is himſelf a member; and, as far as in his power, promote the general good. Thus he will encreaſe his own felicity, and whilſt the ſcene of his temporal joys is enlarged, it will naturally be attended with a firm perſuaſion of a glorious immortality.

There is yet one reflection which flows from a general view of our circumſtances. Nothing can be held without certain conditions of tenure: happily for mankind, nations are generally apt to think more highly of themſelves than of others; and in that opinion they might remain ſelf-ſatisfied, if the other paſſions were at reſt; but that ſeldom happens. A people diſtinguiſhed among the nations of the earth, muſt expect to be the occaſional object of envy, if not of ambition. We are led both by reaſon and experience to know that theſe paſſions are the chief motives of war; and that they do in fact produce wars almoſt periodically. It is not the politics of this nation to attempt the conqueſt of any country in EUROPE; and the waters which ſurround us are a great ſecurity againſt invaſion. But do the ſame reaſon and experience teach us, that this juſt ſyſtem of politics, or even that the waters and our ſhips are ſo ſecure a ſafeguard, under the ſeveral accidents to which naval affairs are ſubject, as the liberty and riches of this nation, or, in other words, the juſt eſteem we ought to have for ourſelves, demand? If they are not, we ſeem to need a militia.

Providence, within a ſhort period, confounded a formidable attempt againſt us: we might have defeated that attempt in the ordinary courſe of things; but if one expedient had failed, we ſhould, methinks, have another at hand, on which we might make a reliance. I hope we have virtue enough left, to truſt ourſelves with arms: it is high time to reform, if we have not. We cannot indeed ſupport a very large army, nor is it deemed

proper we ſhould. At the ſame time experience proves, that the friendſhip of other nations is not to be relied on; and that princes ſeldom do any thing for each other but upon mercenary principles. We are in the neighbourhood of a formidable power, and know their temper and diſpoſition. Could we be ſure of foreign ſuccours upon any extremity, would it be proper to truſt to the courage, or ſtrength, or honeſty of ſuch ſoldiers, to fight our battles at our own doors; when property, religion, and even liberty might be at ſtake? And if ſuch an ally were able to protect us, there could be no ſolid ſecurity againſt his exacting what conditions he pleaſed for the defence he had afforded? Hiſtory, I believe, furniſhes us with reaſons to be jealous of foreign forces in this iſland.

If it is power which governs ſtates; if no compact, or law, except the law of arms, can ordinarily anſwer the events which happen to nations in conſequence of invaſions and wars; if monarchies, humanly ſpeaking, ſtand on this foundation; ſhould we not adapt our ſtrength, in ſome meaſure, to the worth of the object to be defended? If men were more in a ſtate of nature, nations would ſuffer each other to be at reſt. But I am afraid the golden age never exiſted ſince the FALL, though ſome nations in the world, from their virtue, their ſituation, and the genius of their neighbours, may have enjoyed, for ages, an uninterrupted peace. In the preſent condition of EUROPE, and the corruption of mankind, what ſtate can long promiſe itſelf that happineſs? The depravity of its inhabitants will not permit it. All we can do is to live as if we deſired peace; but were neither afraid of war, nor unable to bear the inconveniences which attend it; leaſt of all ſhould we be unprepared for ſelf-defence.

Numerous armies are every where kept up on the continent: there are alſo few places of any moment, but what are well fortified. If we HAVE a ſufficient bulwark by means of our ſhips, it is certainly better to learn how to uſe the ſhuttle and plowſhare, than the ſword; but if our ſhips are NOT ſufficient to put us entirely on an equality, or render us ſuperior in ſtrength to other princes, there is, at leaſt there ſeems to be, ſomething wanting to our ſecurity. Perhaps it will be our fortune to make war

again

again upon the continent; a militia, were it well ordered, could in ſuch caſe, be no unhappy appendage to thoſe advantages which nature has ſo liberally beſtowed on this iſland. However the notion may be exploded concerning FRANCE's aſpiring at univerſal monarchy, it is, I believe, undenied, that the genius of that people ever leads them to military exploits: this does not promiſe any good to themſelves or to mankind in general, but ſo it is: they are bred to arms, and delight in them: they are active, enterpriſing, and never long at reſt. How often have they loſt fifty or an hundred thouſand men in purſuit of a point, which, if obtained, could be of no conſequence to the happineſs of the people of FRANCE? Beſides, their deſire of conqueſt for the glory of their monarch [c], or, in other words, for their own vanity, however a fantaſtic a principle it may be, is generally as ſtrong on their minds, as the jealous care of ſecuring our liberty, is, and ought to be, among us.

But granting that a militia, ſuch as would be eſſentially ſerviceable, might be attended with ſome inconveniences: it may ſtill be aſked, is this iſland in a ſtate of proper defence? If it is, it ſeems reaſonable to think we are beſt as we are; if it is not, there is one common intereſt, abſtracted from all the low principles of contending parties, which calls on us to rectify this part of our œconomy.

Nations have been undone by indolence; and by their ignorance of the uſe of arms, as well as for want of courage. If gentlemen of property, mechanics, or men bred to and ſupported by labour and every honeſt art of induſtry, were taught how to defend their own houſes againſt a foreign enemy, if ſuch ſhould dare invade the iſland, ſurely they could be no objects of jealouſy or fear to the nation. Should we be ſo loſt to all ſenſe of duty to ourſelves, as to employ the means of our SECURITY to our own DESTRUCTION? Such muſt every attempt be deemed which is injurious to the preſent family on the throne, or to the preſent conſtitution: but if the intereſt of the ſovereign and his people are the ſame, that which will

[c] This notion at preſent ſeems to be languid, but muſt neceſſarily revive whenever their king becomes popular, unleſs they change their genius and government.

ſecure their intereſt, muſt eſtabliſh his alſo. There is reaſon enough to think that in the caſe before us, the crown is as much intereſted as the people. But it ſeems to have been the peculiar unhappineſs of this nation, to entertain jealouſies on this ſubject, ſometimes without reaſon, and, what is worſe, ſometimes with reaſon. It may be hoped for the future no cauſe will be given for ſuſpicions, which prepare the way for national evils. There have been men, whoſe conduct no lover of his country can mention without ſorrow, men who tired of their own happineſs, and regardleſs of the general good, choſe to run the greateſt riſk of being miſerable, out of a wanton deſire of change. And are there yet remaining ſuch perſons, whoſe ſecret inclinations are the cauſe of obſtructing thoſe meaſures which the wiſdom of the government might otherwiſe think neceſſary to our preſent ſecurity, or to that of poſterity?

The ſafety of nations, under providence, is their vigilance, and care in providing themſelves with that which experience proves to be moſt eſſential to their defence, that is, money, and men inured to toil and diſcipline. The genius of the BRITISH nation is military, yet it ſeems as if eaſe and plenty had rendered us in ſome reſpects averſe to arms, and that we have more occaſion for a ſpur than a bridle. But it is confeſſed that we make a brave figure in fighting abroad, for our friends, ſhould not we at leaſt LEARN how to fight for ourſelves, when much more may be at ſtake

Many of the officers of our army are not only perſons of the firſt quality, but men of the greateſt bravery and ſenſe of honour. There are ſome of conſiderable property; and it ſeems to be an indignity to ſuppoſe that the bulk of them do not underſtand the duty they owe their country, for the advantages they enjoy as members of the community abſtracted from their pay as officers. Our common ſoldiers alſo, looſe and immoral as they are, poſſeſs a certain innate humanity, inſeparable from that courage by which they have always diſtinguiſhed themſelves. Is there any fear that ſuch an army can be proſtituted to any vile purpoſe, whilſt the land is ruled by a juſt and worthy prince?

A ſtanding

A ſtanding army, ſuch as the revenues of the ſtate can bear, according to the preſent appearances of things, ſeems neceſſary even now in time of peace, not to awe the people, but for the dignity of the crown; to give it a neceſſary weight, and to provide for war; eſpecially whilſt great ſtanding armies are ſo much in faſhion all over EUROPE, and particularly in FRANCE. But with regard to a free and commercial people, there will ever be this material difference between a militia and a ſtanding army; that the one are ſuppoſed never to be idle, and the other but ſeldom employed; conſequently the ſtate gets by the former in proportion to their labour, whilſt the latter are of no uſe except upon emergencies[d]. The difficulty is, upon what footing to eſtabliſh a militia ſo as to remove all occaſion of jealouſy. If a convenient number was ſupported in ſuch counties, as the ſituation, or reaſons of ſtate may render moſt proper, under the command of a lord lieutenant, who might be a nobleman of honour and diſcretion, and appointed by his majeſty's council; ſuch a ſtep might perhaps give the nation a weight, which upon a general view of things it now ſeems to want.

At the ſame time if we conſider the freedom of this ſtate, and the genius of the people, perhaps the only expedient to animate a peaſant to do the duty of a ſoldier, whenever he is called upon, is, that he be under the command of the gentleman, who is his familiar neighbour, and who engages to ſhare with him in one common labour. This perhaps is the only method to inſpire him with juſt ſentiments, and render him obedient to diſcipline. Thoſe who urge that the officers of the army ought not be admitted into the militia, ſeem to give greater proof of their jealouſy of the crown, than of their love to the people. Might not ſuch officers be extremely ſerviceable under particular circumſtances[e]? And were ſome of theſe ſuch as have property in their particular counties, might they not be a means of conciliating thoſe intereſts and tem-

[d] In FRANCE ſoldiers are employed in making roads and other public works, but that does not ſeem to be practicable in this country.

[e] Suppoſe a general, or lieutenant colonel and adjutant in particular, to diſcipline and exerciſe a regiment,

pers.

pers which too frequently claſh amongſt country gentlemen? Nor is there ſuch a difference between ſcarlet and any other colour, but that a gentleman of the country, and another of the army, might agree perfectly in the ſame common intereſt. In ſhort, whether any thing of this kind can CONSISTENTLY be done for us or not; let us keep up a ſenſe of VIRTUOUS LIBERTY, and that I hope will ever render us INVINCIBLE.

Writing to the public, whatever the ſubject be, implies a deſire to propagate an opinion, or to recommend ſome particular rule of conduct: but in ſubjects of this nature we are apt to write or read with prejudice, which is certainly not the true way to benefit by either; or, in other words, it cannot be the way to acquire juſt notions of things, or to render us wiſer and better.

To be entirely of neither ſide in ſome controverted caſes, is perhaps the only way to have a due love and reſpect for both; or, to ſpeak more clearly, it is the beſt means of acquiring ſuch a degree of knowledge of the intereſt of our country as will render us good ſubjects and good men. If thoſe who ACT ought to be circumſpect in their determination, ſurely others who have not ſuch opportunities of informations, ſhould deliver their opinion with care. Prejudices will ever divide mankind, and ſupport different opinions: the people of a free ſtate have the liberty of declaring their ſentiments; nor is there any danger from thence, except from men of fierce and turbulent ſpirits. Common ſenſe teaches us to compaſſionate the falſe judgments which ariſe from education or intereſt; but to obſerve the errors on both ſides, and leave reaſon to judge what is beſt upon the whole, and what is practicable under particular circumſtances, is, I preſume, the taſk of an honeſt and a wiſe ſtateſman. The ſame rule is neceſſary in judging of theſe matters as ſpectators only. The paſſions being thus reſtrained, and the judgment left to its natural freedom, we ſhall require nothing more than goodneſs of heart to become a nation of philoſophers and patriots.

The END of the SECOND VOLUME.

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